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ABSTRACT

This collection of papers is divided into three parts. Part 1, "Changing Patterns: Curricular Implications," includes "Basic Assumptions Revisited: Today's French and Spanish Students at a Large Metropolitan University" (Gail Guntermann, Suzanne Hendrickson, and Carmen de Urioste) and "Le Francais et Mort, Vive le Francais: Rethinking the Function of French" (H. Jay Siskin, Mark A. Knowles, and Robert L. Davis). Part 2, "Changing Patterns: Student Populations," includes "Do German Students Hold Gender Biases about Their TAs?" (Monika Chavez); "Teaching Chinese to the Chinese: The Development of an Assessment and Instructional Model" (Scott McGinnis); "Students Classified as Learning Disabled and the College Foreign Language Requirement: A Case Study of One University" (Richard L. Sparks, Lois Philips, and Leonore Ganschow); "Changing Demographics in Foreign Language Study and the Impact Upon Two-Year Colleges: A Case Study from Georgia" (Carol A. Wilkerson); and "Communication Policy for a Unique Bilingual Community: The National Technical Institute for the Deaf" (Christine Monikowski and Donna E. Gustina). Part 3, "Pedagogical Models," includes "The Foreign Language Class: A Forum for Intercultural Communication" (Gloria Sawicki) and "A Cognitive Model for the Teaching of the Literary Elements in the Second-Year Language Class" (Joan F. Turner and Glynis Cowell). (Papers contain references.) (SM)

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AAUSC
Issues in Language Program Direction
A Series of Annual Volumes

Patterns and Policies: The Changing Demographics of Foreign Language Instruction

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Patterns and Policies: The Changing Demographics of Foreign Language Instruction

Judith E. Liskin-Gasparro
Editor

American Association of University Supervisors, Coordinators, and Directors of Foreign Language Programs (AAUSC)

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A Series of Annual Volumes

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Patterns and Policies: The Changing Demographics of Foreign Language Instruction

Judith E. Liskin-Gasparro
Editor

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Judith E. Liskin-Gasparro
Editor

Introduction

Judith E. Liskin-Gasparro
University of Iowa

The focus of the seventh volume in the series of the American Association of University Supervisors, Coordinators, and Directors of Foreign Language Programs (AAUSC), Issues in Language Program Direction, is on the impact of demographic changes on foreign language programs. It is not news that the population of our schools and colleges is becoming increasingly diverse, with a range of demographic characteristics that was unknown even a generation ago. As Sawicki (this volume) notes, the foreign-born population of the United States doubled from 9.74 million to 19.77 million between 1970 and 1990. This phenomenon alone is enough to signal the need for thoughtful adjustments at all levels and in all areas of education.

Ethnic and linguistic diversity is just one manifestation of major demographic shifts in the population of students who study a foreign language in college. Others include age, previous educational backgrounds, gender, motivation for language study, and individual characteristics, such as learning disabilities or physical handicaps. A changing public requires rethinking policies, curriculum, and pedagogical approaches, not an easy task in large, multisection programs whose directors must juggle the competing demands of standardization and individualization.

It is no accident that almost all of the contributors to this volume have chosen to address the topic of demographic change in foreign language program direction with case studies. While each author is careful not to make generalizations based on the particular circumstances of a single program or institution, the issues raised and the approaches taken to address them are of interest to us all. Considered in their entirety, the chapters present a fascinating mosaic of the challenges that face language program directors today.

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This volume is divided into three sections. The first section contains two articles that deal with changes in enrollment patterns in French and Spanish. The second section, composed of five articles, addresses the impact of our increased awareness of and attention to changes in our student populations. The third section presents two pedagogical models that were designed to meet the needs of students of the 1990s.

The first section presents two perspectives on the same phenomenon —the rise in Spanish enrollment and the corresponding decline in French. In the first paper, "Basic Assumptions Revisited: Today's French and Spanish Students at a Large Metropolitan University," Gail Guntermann, Suzanne Hendrickson, and Carmen de Urioste compare survey data of lower-division French and Spanish students at Arizona State University from 1985 and 1995. Contrary to their expectations, they found that sizeable percentages of lower-division students, the language requirement notwithstanding, reported both instrumental (professionally useful) and integrative ("I like it") reasons for studying the language. They also found that the desire to communicate with native speakers was the overriding goal for most students of both languages.

In the second article, "*Le Français est mort, vive le français:* Rethinking the Function of French," H. Jay Siskin, Mark Knowles, and Robert L. Davis analyze perceptions of French and Spanish by students at three universities to provide insights into the national decline in French enrollments. Based on a theory of language function (Halliday 1978), they hypothesize that the two languages are "in complementary functional distribution, with Spanish dominating in the instrumental and interpersonal functions, and French in the aesthetic and transformative functions." One of their most interesting findings is that both French and Spanish students perceive their languages as useful, although the understanding of utility differs between the two groups.

The second section, which deals with changing student populations as a result of demographic shifts in society at large, revisits some of the topics treated in a recent volume in the AAUSC series, *Faces in a Crowd: The Individual Learner in Multisection Courses* (Klee 1994). It opens with an article by Monika Chavez, "Do German Students Hold Gender Biases about Their TAs?," in which she investigates the factors underlying reports from female TAs at the University of Wisconsin—Madison of "miscommunication or even communicative incompatibility with male students." Via a meticulous analysis of questionnaire data, in which students were

asked to associate activities and traits with one gender or the other or as gender-neutral, she uncovers gender-linked patterns that lead to both immediate pedagogical intervention and directions for future research.

Scott McGinnis describes the conditions surrounding the creation of a course for heritage speakers at the University of Maryland in "Teaching Chinese to the Chinese: The Development of an Assessment and Instructional Model." Beginning with the "one-course-fits-all" model that was clearly not serving students well, he leads the reader through the stages of problem identification, needs analysis, and curricular enhancement. He argues convincingly for careful initial assessment to develop linguistic profiles of one's heritage speakers before beginning the process of new course development.

Richard L. Sparks, Lois Philips, and Lenore Ganschow also focus on the experience of a single institution to shed light on issues of concern nationwide in their chapter entitled "Students Classified as Learning Disabled and the College Foreign Language Requirement: A Case Study of One University." Combing through records of nearly 100 students who received permission to substitute courses for the university's foreign language requirement at a public university of 16,000 students, the authors analyze the data from a variety of perspectives in search of consistent standards for classification of students as learning disabled (LD) and substitution of the foreign language requirement. They find, disturbingly, that the LD label has functioned at this institution as a "'sociologic sponge,' absorbing large numbers of students who are much too heterogeneous to permit generalizations about who should be provided with classroom accommodations and/or course substitutions."

Carol A. Wilkerson studies the needs of a population that is becoming increasingly relevant to language program directors in her chapter "Changing Demographics in Foreign Language Study and the Impact on Two-Year Colleges: A Case Study from Georgia." Like several of the other papers in this volume, this chapter describes in detail the situation at a single institution with the expectation that it is not unique, but rather a result of general demographic shifts. Wilkerson describes a situation in Georgia where, quite suddenly, public two-year colleges were mandated to absorb a large population of high school graduates who needed additional work to meet admission standards at four-year colleges. In her case study, she comes to the conclusion that the model of developmental courses, used in other subject areas, is a viable alternative for foreign languages that needs to be explored.

In the last article of this section, "Communication Policy for a Unique Bilingual Community: The National Technical Institute for the Deaf," Christine Monikowski and Donna E. Gustina describe the development and implementation of a communication policy for this bilingual teaching community, where the students are deaf and the majority of the faculty are hearing. Complicating the matter further, students come from a variety of language backgrounds: ASL, signed English, and spoken English, as well as combined forms of communication, such as signed English accompanied by speech. The communication policy, which states that faculty will achieve and maintain a high level of proficiency in the language(s) of instruction, i.e., ASL and/or other forms of signed communication, is a model that many institutions try to emulate with respect to the English language proficiency of teaching assistants.

The two articles that make up the third section of this volume deal with pedagogical models that the authors have created to meet the needs of their own students. In "The Foreign Language Class: A Forum for Intercultural Communication," Gloria Sawicki describes the program that she and her colleagues developed at Queens College to use the knowledge and experiences of their multilingual and multicultural student body to "transform the foreign language classroom into a forum for intercultural awareness, understanding, and communication." She presents several group activities that enable students to combine language learning with learning about the many cultures represented in the classroom.

In the last article of the volume, "A Cognitive Model for the Teaching of the Literary Elements in the Second-Year Language Class," Joan F. Turner and Glynis Cowell use schema theory to introduce students to the interpretation of literary texts. Recognizing that second-year students have both limited language skills and limited experience with literature, they turn to familiar stories to teach the elements of a text. They argue that the familiar content will help anchor the new skills and, in the process, help students prepare for the study of literature at the third-year level.

It is the editor's hope that the case studies in this volume, which highlight problem areas and report on successful approaches, will both resonate with readers and inspire future projects in research and program development. The changes in student populations reported here are far from over, as demographic shifts in the wider society, as well as the increasing percentage of high school graduates who pursue higher education, result in an increasingly diverse group of students in our language programs. Providing instruction in multisection courses that meets the many needs of our students will continue to be a challenge for directors of language programs.

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Part I

Changing Patterns: Curricular Implications

Basic Assumptions Revisited: Today's French and Spanish Students at a Large Metropolitan University

Gail Guntermann
Suzanne Hendrickson
Carmen de Urioste
Arizona State University

An underlying assumption behind the development of this volume is that changes in the demographic characteristics, needs, and interests of today's student population may require corresponding adjustments in program design and direction. Who are today's language students? How much do they differ from their counterparts of previous decades? This chapter compares the demographic characteristics, goals, and preferences of Spanish students in 1985 and 1995, and French and Spanish students in 1995, in a large southwestern public university.

In 1985, Spanish language classes were surveyed for purposes of program evaluation and reform. To make comparisons with today's students, a nearly identical survey was conducted in 1995. The imposition of several new language requirements during the intervening decade was assumed to have resulted in changes in students' needs and preferences. In the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, the two-year requirement had been extended in 1987 to include all students pursuing B.S. as well as B.A. degrees, and several other units on campus either had initiated a language requirement or had strongly recommended language study to their majors.

This second survey was extended to French students as well, in order to make comparisons between the students of today in these two most commonly taught languages. While the original questionnaire was not designed with this research in mind, the results clearly show changes over time in Spanish and current contrasts between French and Spanish, as well as some surprising similarities among all three groups.

Literature Review

Although much recent research has been devoted to learning styles and strategies, motivation, anxiety, and learners' beliefs about language learning, relatively little of the professional literature has dealt with students' preferences regarding the content of the curriculum. In 1980, Harlow, Smith, and Garfinkel surveyed French students at Purdue University for their perceptions of their communication needs with regard to functions that they thought were important for them to learn to carry out. This study was then replicated with Spanish students at Iowa State University by Lacasa and Lacasa in 1983. The results of the two studies indicated that the preferences of the two language groups were very similar.

Guntermann (1984) proposed a restructuring of basic courses to allow students to pursue language study for varied purposes. Three groups were identified: language majors, students preparing for international professions, and those "who need to fulfill the expectations implied by a language requirement" (p. 585). Rivers (1985) proposed five directions for upgrading the content of language programs: linking foreign languages with international studies, preparing students for careers, teaching for intercommunity understanding, developing insights into the process of communication, and involving students in humanistic experiences appropriate to their level, through literature.

Nine years later, a study by Harlow and Muyskens (1994) that grew out of their concern for meeting students' needs at the intermediate level demonstrated that curricula still had not changed much. They surveyed 471 intermediate-level French and Spanish students in four midwestern universities to identify their goals for language study. They found that speaking the language for communication in social, travel, and job situations was ranked as most important by both French and Spanish students. Listening placed second, while literature, culture, career applications, and learning more about English trailed behind all others. Students of the two languages differed little in their priorities.

Martin and Laurie (1993) reported that intermediate-level French students at an Australian university placed highest value on developing linguistic skills, especially oral proficiency, and lesser value on studying the culture and literature. The authors attribute this preference to "culture panic" as well as to a perceived lack of usefulness of culture and literature for developing language skills.

The Surveys

The purpose of our 1985 Spanish survey was to elicit information from students that could be used to identify strengths and weaknesses in the language program as a basis for making adjustments. The information that was requested included age, major and profession, grade point average, language background (including the degree to which Spanish was spoken in the home), reasons for studying Spanish, perceptions of potential future use of the language, preferences and priorities for course content, and specialized classes that respondents would take if they were offered. To make comparisons, the second questionnaires in 1995 were designed to mirror sections of the first, while adding questions about students' gender, their views on the importance of language study for all students, and the language-related activities that they would pursue if they were given the opportunity, including technology-assisted interaction with the language and culture. (See Appendix for the full text of the Spanish survey.) In addition, the French questionnaire elicited indications of interest in Francophone cultures outside of France.

In 1985, all students in Spanish language classes were surveyed. In 1995, due to greatly increased enrollments, several sections of each French and Spanish course were selected in such a way as to assure a sampling that represented classes meeting at various times of day—early and midmorning, midday, and evening. It was thought that the time of day might be a confounding variable, if students who select classes at particular times of day represented different populations. All questionnaires were administered during class time to assure the highest rate of return, although students could choose not to participate. Unfortunately, information is not available for those who either were absent or who declined to participate.

On the basis of experience and informal observation, certain changes were expected from 1985 to 1995. First, students in 1995 were expected to be older on the average and more career-oriented in both languages. Because of the imposition of the language requirement on science majors, who were presumed to be less interested in language study in general, it was assumed that results would show a belief on the part of many students that language study for all students was not very important. Therefore, there would be a lower proportion of students with previous language study, less interest in using the language in the future, and a change in reasons for studying it, from "I like it" to "It is required for my major" and "Spanish/French is the easiest language to learn." We also expected to find

less interest in communicating orally or pursuing specialized courses or immersion. Furthermore, we expected significant numbers of students to show little interest in language-related outside activities such as conversation groups, e-mail with native speakers, or television and movies.

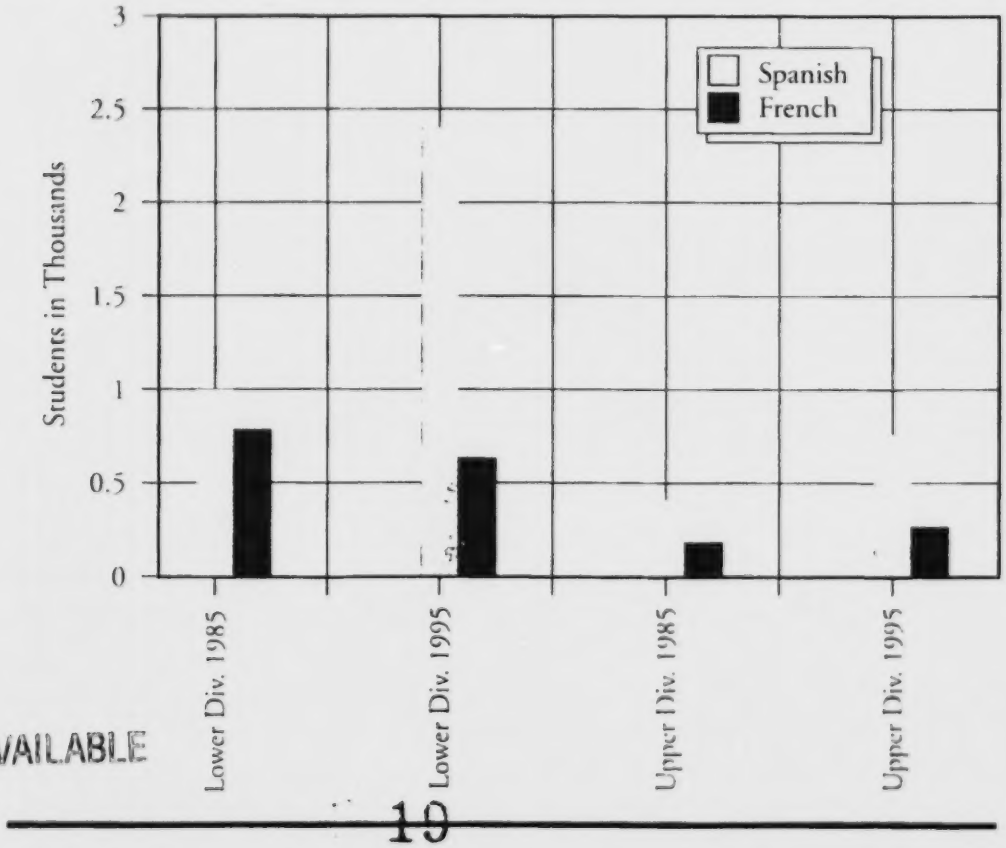
Findings

Enrollments

Enrollment figures for Spanish in 1985 and 1995 reflect the effects of the extension of the language requirement. During that decade the number of Spanish students more than doubled at the lower levels (the first four semesters) and nearly doubled in the upper-division courses (third-year) as well. During the same time French lost more than 100 lower-division students but gained 57 in classes at the third-year level.

Figure 1.

Spanish and French Enrollment



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Major Fields of Study

The design of language programs has traditionally been based on assumptions about the needs of language majors, and in large universities with high language enrollments and sizable graduate programs, relatively little attention may be directed to determining undergraduates' needs and interests and, correspondingly, to effecting significant changes in programs. In fact, our survey results indicate that French and Spanish majors actually constitute an extremely small percentage of lower-division students, a situation that was already established by 1985, when no declared Spanish majors were found until the fourth semester, and then there were only six majors out of 137 students. In fact, only in the sixth semester did majors nearly equal non-majors (as 48 percent of the total). In 1995, Spanish and French majors numbered only four each among lower-division students. Language majors became the most numerous only in upper-division courses, and the majority of them began their study of the language in high school or a community college.

Tables 1 and 2 show the most frequently reported major fields. In the category "business" are included accounting, agribusiness, economics, management, international management, and marketing. "Sciences" include biology, biochemistry, botany, chemistry, geology, microbiology, pre-medicine, wildlife conservation, and zoology. Education majors include, in addition to Spanish teachers, majors in bilingual education, elementary education, special education, and English as a second language. Their numbers may be underreported in all three surveys, in that education majors tended to list their majors simply as "French" or "Spanish." (The inclusion of bilingual and ESL teachers in this group makes their numbers much higher in Spanish than in French.)

In 1985, business majors were the most numerous among Spanish students at all levels, followed by education majors, even though most of these students were not required to study a language. On the other hand, broadcasting and English students, for whom two years of a foreign language were required, had high numbers in lower-division courses but did not tend to continue into the upper levels.

In 1985, very few science majors studied Spanish, but ten years later, after the imposition of the two-year requirement, they outnumbered the business majors in lower-division courses in Spanish. They, too, tend to drop out as soon as they meet the requirement. Increases in the categories of psychology and exercise science in Spanish classes may also be due to a combination of new requirements and program expansion. Many of the

Table 1.

Most Common Major Fields of Study, 1985 and 1995: Spanish

1985			
Lower Division		**Upper Division**	
Major	**N**	**Major**	**N**
Business	69	Spanish	25
Broadcasting	45	Business	20
English	38	Education	9
Journalism	33		
Education	27		
Psychology	15		
History	12		

1995			
Lower Division		**Upper Division**	
Major	**N**	**Major**	**N**
Psychology	50	Spanish	41
Sciences	42	Education	23
Business	33	Business	22
Exercise Science	31	Sciences	13
Education	25	Broadcasting	10
Journalism	24		
Political Science	24		
Broadcasting	22		
English	20		
History	17		
Communication	11		
Sociology	11		

Table 2.

Most Common Major Fields of Study, 1995: French

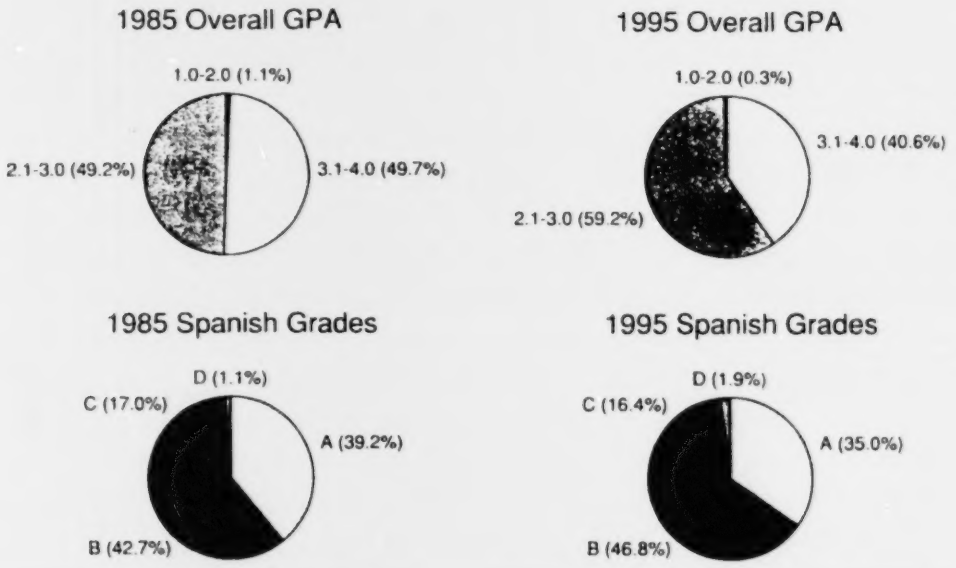
1995			
Lower Division		**Upper Division**	
Major	**N**	**Major**	**N**
Business	19	French	9
Sciences	18	Business	6
Psychology	13	Sciences	5
English	9	Psychology	3
Engineering	8	Political Science	3
History	7	English	3
Communication	7	Communication	3
French	4		
Music	4		
Art	4		
Political Science	4		

exercise science majors are actually preparing to teach physical education or to coach sports in the schools and could be counted as education majors, a fact that might explain their preference for Spanish over French; schools in the Southwest are receiving increasing numbers of students whose first language is Spanish.

For purposes of program redesign it is important to note that non-majors substantially outnumber majors in both languages and at all levels of study. The perseverance of business students, particularly, seems to indicate that they perceive language study to be beneficial for their careers, an assumption that is reinforced by the stated preferences of these and many other non-majors on subsequent sections of the questionnaires. It is therefore appropriate to question once again the degree to which students' professional needs and preferences are met by the traditional language program, which has been based on the assumptions that all students are potential majors and that majors should study literature primarily.

Figure 2.

Reported GPA Compared to Reported Spanish Grades, 1985 and 1995



Age and Sex

It was expected that students in 1995 would be older on the average than those of 1985, yet no major differences were found to support this expectation. In all surveys, over 85 percent of the students were found to be between 18 and 25 years old, with a preponderance of these 21 and under. Frequencies for all other age groups in 1995 were within three percentage points of their Spanish counterparts ten years earlier. This surprising finding may be explained by the fact that this university has been a large metropolitan commuter institution for longer than ten years; that is, the students in 1985 were perhaps already older than the national average.

The gender distribution of Spanish students was not included in the 1985 survey. In 1995, 40 percent of the Spanish students surveyed were male, 60 percent female. In upper-division courses 44 percent were male, 56 percent female. These numbers differ from those found by Harlow, Smith, and Garfinkel (1980) and Lacasa and Lacasa (1983), in that for both of those studies there were twice as many women as men. The French results in this study also differ greatly from the Spanish in that, overall, 70 percent of French students were female, and an even greater 83 percent in upper-division courses. Perhaps the somewhat higher percentage of males

in the Spanish survey is due in part to the perception that Spanish is useful for the professions, including those outside the humanities.

Reported GPA Compared to Reported Spanish Grades

Because of a widely held perception that grade inflation has been a serious and growing problem, students were asked to report their overall grade point averages (GPAs) and their Spanish or French grades to date.

As Figure 2 demonstrates, overall GPAs were much lower than Spanish grades in both surveys. Because students reported GPAs in numbers and language grades in letters, the contrast may be somewhat difficult to detect immediately, but when GPA numbers are translated to letters, we can see that Spanish students in both surveys reported 40 to 50 percent "A" and "B" overall averages compared to 82 percent "A" and "B" Spanish averages. No major differences were found between the two Spanish surveys; whatever grade inflation there may be in Spanish classes today had already developed more than ten years ago.

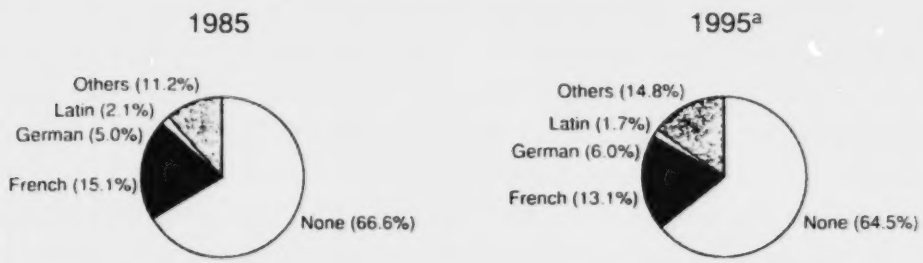
As Figure 3 shows, the GPAs of French students as reported in 1995 were much higher than those of their Spanish counterparts: 62 percent of the French students reported GPAs between 3.1 and 4.0, compared to 41 percent of the Spanish students. At the same time, the French students reported lower grades in their target language; 25 percent reported "C" grades, while only 16 percent of the Spanish students admitted to having a "C" average in Spanish. The data seem to indicate that Spanish grades are indeed inflated, in comparison to both their own GPAs and French students' language grades. One might question whether Spanish students'

Figure 3.

Reported GPA Compared to Reported French Grades, 1995

Figure 4.

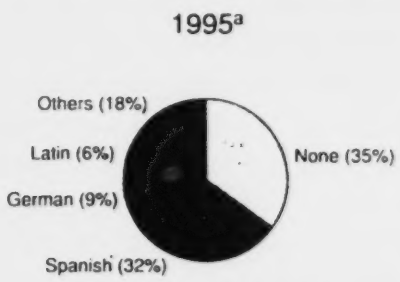
Other Languages Studied (Spanish), 1985 and 1995



[a]In 1995, 2% also had studied Italian, Portuguese, and Hebrew

Figure 5.

Other Languages Studied (French), 1995



[a]In 1995, 3.5% also had studied Italian, Japanese/Chinese, and Russian

GPAs would be even lower if it were not for the grades that they receive in their Spanish courses.

Previous Language Study

Figure 4 shows that the majority of Spanish students in both surveys had studied no other language, and that French, German, and Latin represented the language backgrounds held by the largest numbers of those who had studied another language. The figures remained remarkably constant in the ten years between the two surveys.

The case is considerably different for students of French. Figure 5 demonstrates that French students enter the university having studied

other languages to a much greater extent than Spanish students. In fact, 32 percent of the French students said that they had studied Spanish in high school.

For both language groups the "Other" category included such diverse languages as Greek, Hebrew, Portuguese, Dutch, Norwegian, Polish, Rumanian, Korean, Arabic, Navaho, and sign language. In many cases these were probably the first languages of the students or their parents or spouses.

The Spanish students' previous experience with Spanish consisted of a combination of high school study, courses in other institutions of higher education, travel, and bilingual home life. The largest group of lower-division French and Spanish students studied their languages in high school and then continued their study of them to satisfy the language

Table 3.

Percentage of Students Reporting Previous Study of Target Language, 1985 and 1995

Spanish	1985			1995		
	Total	Students in All Lower-Division Courses	Students in First-Semester Course	Total	Students in All Lower-Division Courses	Students in First-Semester Course
High School	69	68	50	57	63	44
Other Colleges	17	13	0	9	10	4

French		1995		
		Total	Students in All Lower-Division Courses	Students in First-Semester Course
High School		61	68	50
Other Colleges		15	19	0

requirement. Many reported beginning in the third college semester directly from high school, and some began in fifth and sixth semesters.

"True" beginners in the first-semester course have consistently complained about "false" beginners in their classes, and this study supports their contention: as Table 3 shows, 50 percent of Spanish first-semester students in 1985 and 44 percent in 1995 reported that they had studied Spanish in high school, primarily for one or two years. Fifty percent of French first-semester students had also studied French in high school. The French supervisor has attempted to alleviate this situation with the use of a placement test, but it is clear from these data that the issue has not been resolved. In 1998 incoming students will be required to have studied two years of a foreign language in order to enter a university in the state system; if credit for the first-semester course is withdrawn from them, the numbers of "false" beginners may well drop significantly.

Universities in southwestern states boast large numbers of Hispanic students, many of whom study Spanish either as support for their careers, to maintain their heritage, or both. Perhaps because this tradition was well established long ago, little change was found between 1985 and 1995. In the previous study 17 percent of the students reported that their families spoke Spanish at home, compared to 19 percent in 1995. Even among "beginners" the numbers are 13 percent in 1985 and 16 percent in 1995. The percentage of Hispanic students at the upper levels was more than twice as great as at the lower levels in both surveys. A slight decrease was found in the reported amount of Spanish spoken in the home, however: in 1985 the largest group (13 percent) estimated that they spoke Spanish at home between 25 and 75 percent of the time, while in 1995 the largest group (11 percent) spoke it 25 to 50 percent of the time. By comparison, 3 percent of the French students reported that their families spoke French in their homes.

Spanish speakers have always had difficulty deciding where to place themselves in the program. Courses in Spanish for Spanish Speakers consist of two-semester sequences in the second and third years, but only one section per semester is offered at each level. The number of Spanish-speaking students greatly exceeds the capacity of these classes, and many students cannot fit them into their schedules. Clearly, the department needs to address better the needs and interests of this large group of students.

A surprising number of students at all levels have traveled to Spanish- and French-speaking countries, if only briefly in most cases. In 1985, 63 percent of Spanish students had had such an experience, 51 percent in

1995. As might be expected in the Southwest, 42 percent and 30 percent of these totals, respectively, had traveled to Mexico at least once. Spain was in second place, with 11 percent and 8 percent in the two Spanish surveys, respectively. Fifty percent of French students reported brief or extended stays in Francophone countries; of these, 49 percent had visited France, 25 percent Canada, and 18 percent other parts of French-speaking Europe.

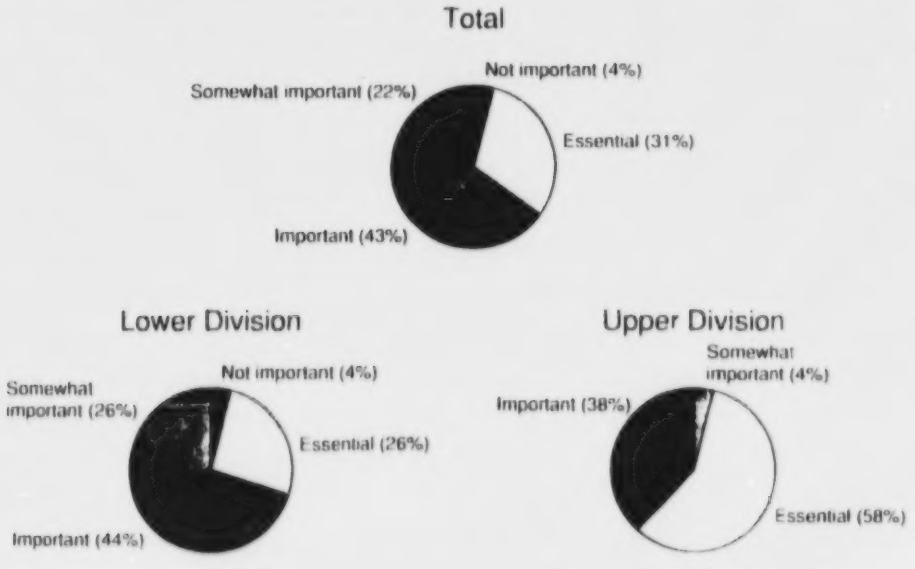
The Value of Language Study

A question was added to the 1995 questionnaire to elicit information on perceptions of the importance of language study for all students. Especially at the upper levels, both French and Spanish students perceived language study to be highly valuable for all students, and French students valued it more than Spanish students did.

As Figure 6 indicates, over half of the upper-division students in both languages rated language study as "essential," compared to one-fourth to one-third of the lower-division students. Nonetheless, nearly 45 percent of the Spanish students who answered this question saw language study as

Figure 6.

The Importance of Language Study for All Students in 1995



"important," while fewer than 3 percent rated it as "not at all important." Furthermore, 69 percent at the lower levels in Spanish and 73 percent in French selected either "essential" or "important." It would seem, then, that attitudes toward the value of language study are not generally negative, even among the "requirement students." The next sections consider specific aspects of the endeavor that these students consider to be most valuable.

Plans and Hopes for Using the Language

Given the common perception that today's students are becoming more oriented toward careers and prefer course content that relates to practical purposes, students were asked in both surveys to list any plans or hopes they had for using the language in the future. Their responses were grouped according to thematic categories. The categories that were most frequently mentioned by Spanish students in both 1985 and 1995 were: 1) career/profession/job, including teaching; 2) conversation with Spanish speakers; and 3) travel/vacation. Other goals included studying and living abroad, becoming bilingual, gaining personal knowledge or satisfaction, and teaching the language to their children. Interestingly enough, both Hispanic and non-Hispanic students listed raising children with two languages as one of their goals.

As was expected, the career/professional category exceeded the second-ranking purpose, conversation with native speakers, by a ratio of 2 to 1 in 1985, and in 1995 it outscored travel/vacation by nearly 3.5 to 1. In both surveys Spanish students listed a wide range of careers, including business, medicine, teaching, law, broadcasting, counseling, law enforcement, social work, speech and hearing, journalism, international affairs, engineering, library work, and nursing. While some hoped to live and work abroad, others expected Spanish to be useful for work-related purposes in the Southwest.

The French students' plans differed from those of the Spanish students. For the former the order was: 1) travel/live abroad; 2) work abroad; and 3) study abroad. Other plans included being fluent in another language, communicating with people in the street, teaching French to their children, and using the language for graduate study. Careers mentioned by these students included teaching, international business, international law, and international affairs, but professional uses of the language were mentioned slightly less by French students than by Spanish students.

Reasons for Studying Spanish/French

In 1985, Spanish students were asked to read a list of seven reasons for studying the language and to check all that applied to them:

_____ It is required for my major.
_____ I like Spanish.
_____ Spanish is the easiest language to learn.
_____ It is important in the Southwest.
_____ I want to use it in my work or profession
(type of work: _____)
_____ My family speaks Spanish.
_____ Spanish is my major.
_____ Other(s):_____

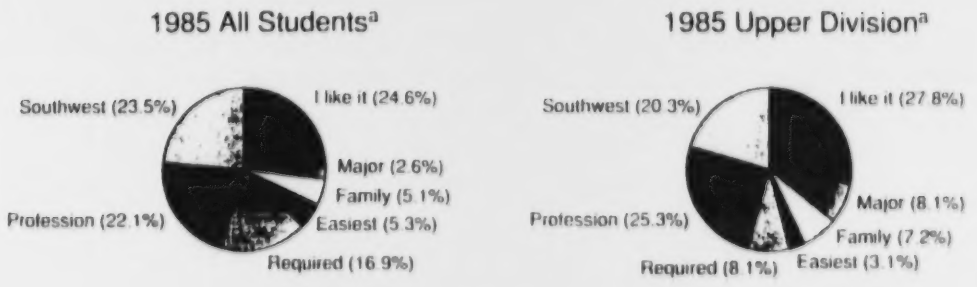
Figure 7 provides the results of this section of the Spanish questionnaire.

Most 1985 respondents selected Spanish because they liked it, because it was important in the Southwest, and because it was useful for their professions. Last among the major reasons pertaining to all students was the perception that Spanish was easy. And although language study was required at that time for all students pursuing a B.A. in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, respondents did not include the requirement among their three most important motivating factors.

The two primary differences between the responses of lower- and upper-division Spanish students in 1985 were: 1) there were more majors

Figure 7.

Reasons for Studying Spanish, 1985



[a]Check any that pertain

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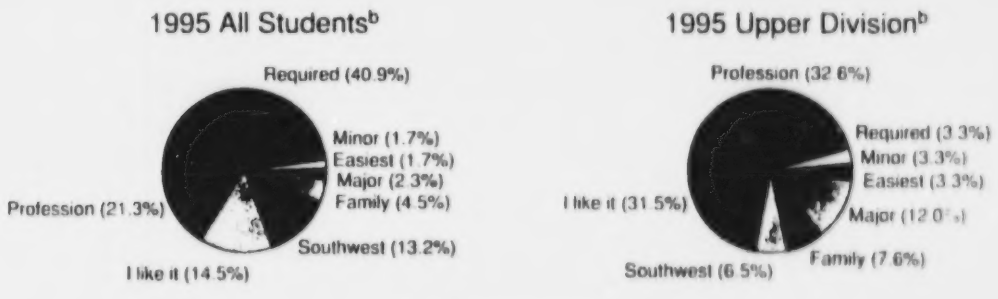
at the upper levels; and 2) ease of learning fell to last place among all upper-division students (even behind "It is my major" and "My family speaks Spanish").

The reasons for Spanish study reported by students in 1995 are presented in Figure 8. The 1995 questionnaire asked students to select the top three reasons and rank them according to importance for them personally. Many had difficulty following these directions and, consequently, their responses had to be eliminated from the data. Of those who followed the directions, 41 percent considered that they were studying Spanish primarily because a language was required. Interestingly enough, however, they still did not claim that they selected Spanish because it was easy; instead, they still considered it to be important for their professions and in the Southwest in general, and they still selected "I like Spanish" as their third choice. The perception that students who are required to study a language necessarily bear a negative attitude toward it is evidently inaccurate more often than not, at least for these students (unless they simply could not admit to a weakness for "easy" courses).

Although the 1985 data showed little variation in the ranking according to the level of study of the respondents, the gap between lower- and upper-division motivations is wide in 1995: For lower-division students the primary motive is the requirement, whereas the more advanced students select pleasure and professional usefulness as their most important reasons for pursuing Spanish study.

Figure 8.

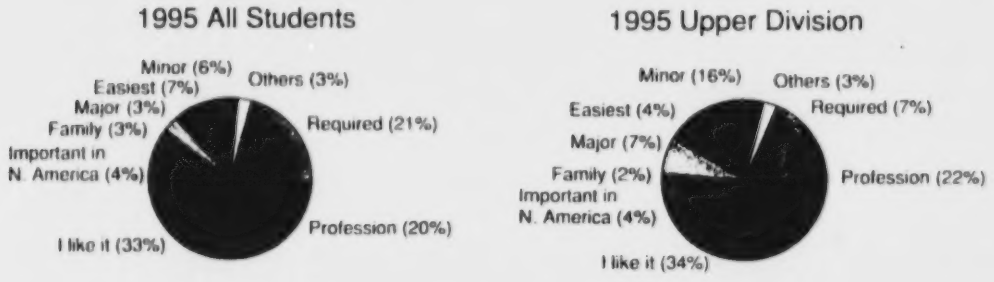
Reasons for Studying Spanish, 1995



[b]Rank the 3 top reasons

Figure 9.

Reasons for Studying French, 1995



The 1995 data for French are different. Even after the imposition of the language requirement for science majors, the French students' top motivation was that they *liked* French; in fact, this reason was given more often by the French students in 1995 than by the Spanish students in 1985. Fewer French than Spanish students claimed the requirement motivation, although it seemed to be related to professional aspirations. Like the Spanish students, very few (7 percent) of French students selected "It is the easiest language to learn."

The French questionnaire included the reason "It is important in North America" in order to ascertain the degree to which students perceived the importance of French-speaking Canada in NAFTA. Apparently, that consideration carried little weight for most French students at this large Southwestern university.

"It is my minor" played an important role for upper-division French students, who mentioned that they planned to use it in their careers. Several students volunteered other reasons for studying French: "It's important to know other languages," "It's a beautiful language," and "I like the culture." In general, the French students' motivations seem to be somewhat less practical than those of their Spanish counterparts.

Goals and Preferences

This section of the questionnaires was divided into three parts. The first question, "What do you want/expect to learn from Spanish/French

study?" asked students to rank seven goals in order of importance for them personally:

_____ to be able to communicate in Spanish/French in real life situations
_____ to be able to carry out professional/work-related functions
_____ to know about Hispanic/Francophone cultures: customs, values, way-of-life information
_____ to be able to function appropriately within Hispanic/Francophone culture
_____ to read and appreciate the literature of Hispanic peoples/in French
_____ to know about the Spanish/French language: vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, etc.
_____ to be informed about Hispanic/French or Francophone formal culture: art, music, literature, history, etc.

Unfortunately in 1985, a printing error inadvertently combined the fourth and fifth options (ability to function appropriately in the culture and reading and appreciation of literature), thus invalidating the results and forcing the elimination of these categories from the data.

For each of the other categories the numbers of students who ranked it first or second were added together, and the resulting sums were ranked.

In 1985, students at all levels most wanted to learn to communicate and to function professionally using the language. In third place was knowledge of the language itself (ironically, this was the aspect most stressed in the courses). "Small c" culture—customs, values, way-of-life information—finished a distant fourth, although it was nearly five times more important to those students than "Big C" culture—art, music, literature, history, etc.

As Table 4 indicates, Spanish students in 1995 overwhelmingly wanted to learn to communicate above all other goals. Literature placed last, and "small c" culture was considered to be only slightly more appropriate for language study than formal culture. This result, while surprising, coincides with the findings of Harlow and Muyskens (1994) for intermediate-level students. One could hypothesize that because the coursework stressed language as divorced from culture, students were unaware of the relationship between the two and assumed that the study of culture was inappropriate for a language class. If this hypothesis is true, it points up the need for culture-based courses as well as for developing awareness of the importance of cultural understanding for effective communication.

Table 4.

Goals: Knowledge and Abilities

	Spanish 1985		Spanish 1995			French 1995		
	Rank	Total[c]	Rank	Total[c]	%	Rank	Total[c]	%
Communicate	1	458	1	383	38	1	97	26
Work	2	247	2	198	20	4	53	14
Social Situations	NA	NA	3	195	20	2	68	18
Language Knowledge	3	206	4	112	11	3	60	16
culture[a]	4	83	5	50	5	7	28	8
Culture[b]	5	17	6	37	4	6	31	8
Literature	NA	NA	7	22	2	5	32	9
Totals		1,011		997	100		369	100

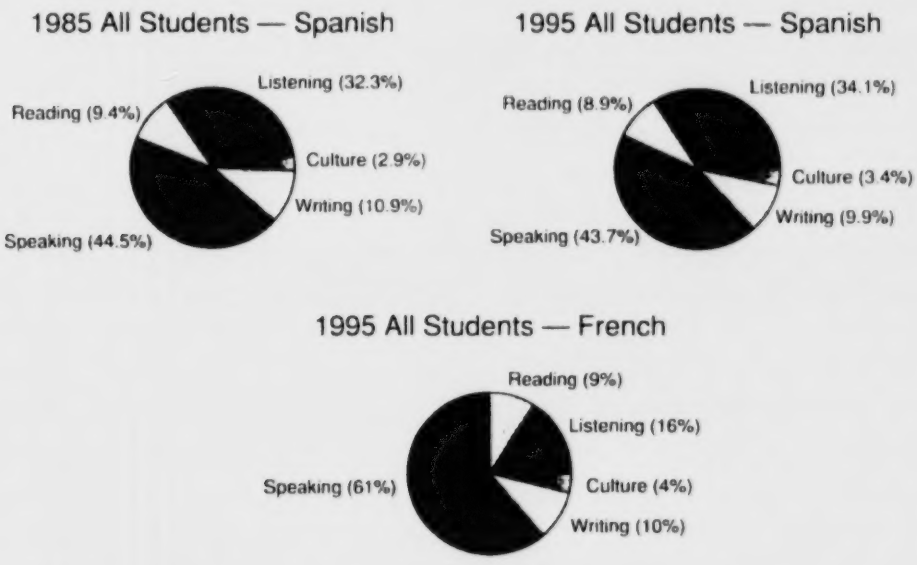
[a] way-of-life information
[b] formal culture
[c] Number of subjects who ranked each category 1 or 2
NA: These two categories were inadvertently combined in the 1985 questionnaire; therefore, percentages are not comparable.

Although French students also rated communication first and functioning in social situations second, their next choice was knowledge of the language (grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation), followed closely by its use in the world of work. They also rated formal culture and literature slightly above or equal to way-of-life culture. Again, these French students overall appear to be slightly more culturally oriented and less professionally oriented than the Spanish students in this study.

Figure 10 displays the relative importance of each of the four skills and culture for students in the three surveys. Overall rankings for 1985 and for both languages in 1995 are nearly identical. Again, speaking was perceived to be the most important skill, while culture placed last. It should be noted that in all three surveys many students commented that in reality all skills were equally important and should not be ranked in this forced fashion.

Figure 10.

Goals: Relative Importance of Skills and Culture (Spanish), 1985 and 1995



Preference for Specialized Courses

Students were then asked to read a list of potential courses and check all that they would take if they were given the opportunity. In the 1985 questionnaire, these included Spanish for several professions; a reading course; Hispanic culture taught in Spanish; professional courses in their majors taught in Spanish; and an immersion program. Table 5 shows the ratings of these courses and programs based on frequency of selection. When professional courses are combined, it is evident that they were most popular among Spanish students at both levels, followed by immersion. Reading and culture then placed last.

In the 1995 questionnaire, all professions were combined into one category, "Spanish for your profession," which placed first for both lower- and upper-division students, followed by immersion and then reading and culture courses. Lower-division students preferred reading, while upper-division students preferred culture.

The French students in general were less extreme in their preferences than the Spanish students. For the lower-division French students, immersion was most popular, with professional courses a close second. For

Table 5.

Courses Students Would Take, 1985 and 1995

Spanish	1985	
	Lower Division	Upper Division
Business	198	49
Medicine	54	14
Law	53	13
Teaching	70	23
Reading	159	35
Culture	113	39
Major	181	51
Immersion	172	47

Spanish	1995	
	Lower Division	Upper Division
Profession	196	93
Reading	85	59
Culture	57	77
Immersion	157	90

French	1995	
	Lower Division	Upper Division
Profession	46	25
Reading	37	27
French Culture	35	32
Immersion	55	39
Francophone Culture	21	20

upper-division French students, French culture and reading were preferred over professional courses. Francophone culture trailed all others at both levels. Quebec was the principal Francophone region noted by students in connection with travel, study, and work/living abroad, with some listing also of Martinique and the Caribbean region. No mention was made of French-speaking Africa. It appears that while more advanced students in both languages are somewhat better informed as to the relationship between language and culture, much more remains to be done in this area at all levels.

A major surprise that emerged from all surveys was the interest expressed in an immersion program. In 1985, 33 percent of the respondents checked the immersion option; in 1995, 42 percent selected it. However, as several students suggested in their comments, they might not be free to dedicate the necessary time to immersion language study.

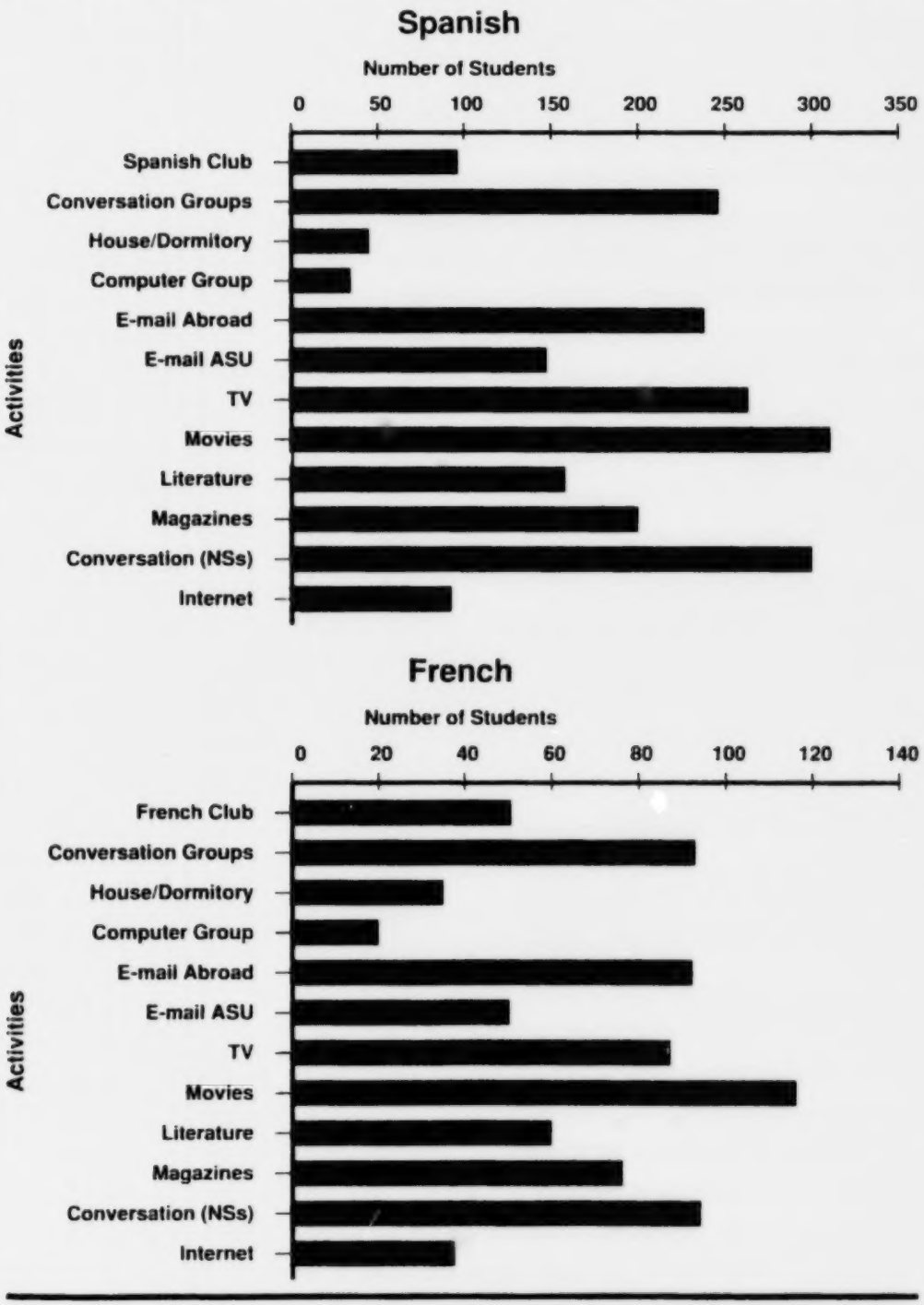
Most surprising in 1995 were the high frequencies with which students checked specialized course options, given the fact that the principal motivation at the lower levels was the language requirement. Perhaps their perception of the languages as important for professional purposes overrides their original lack of motivation, once they begin their language study.

Potential Participation in Out-of-Class Activities

In 1995, French and Spanish students were asked to check all the outside activities out of a list of 12 that they might participate in, given the opportunity. The extremely positive responses to these options, depicted in Figure 11, again came as a surprise, except for the first-place category, "Movies," which students often request in classes. The next three rankings consisted of various types of communication (conversation with native speakers, conversation groups with others on campus, and e-mail interaction with native speakers in other countries), and for Spanish, watching television. Students were less enthusiastic about e-mail with other Spanish or French students on campus, and computer work on the Internet and computer discussion groups were even less popular. Also surprising was the apparent lack of interest in a club, considering the faculty's concern about offering one. Indeed, attendance at meetings has always been problematic and a reason for the demise of the clubs that have been initiated.

Figure 11.

Activities Students Would Pursue



Discussion and Conclusions

This study, which was meant to describe today's French and Spanish students at one southwestern university and their curricular preferences, began with two overarching questions: (1) How much and in what significant ways have our Spanish students changed in the past ten years, since a previous survey was conducted? and (2) How do our Spanish and French students compare on these measurements today? The main results of three surveys at this large metropolitan university can be summarized as follows:

1. More "requirement students" opt for Spanish than for French. In fact, Spanish enrollments have more than doubled with the imposition of new language requirements. Lower-level French enrollments have decreased, but at the upper levels they have increased somewhat.

2. Non-language majors, ranging from physical education to law, outnumber language majors in the language courses at all levels in both Spanish and French, a phenomenon that has not changed in the last ten years. While most groups of "requirement students" drop out after completing the first four semesters, business and education majors tend to continue voluntarily to the upper levels. An in-depth study of the needs and interests of students in all languages would seem to be long overdue. While Spanish students are slightly more career-oriented than French students, professional motivations and purposes for language study were cited by large numbers in both groups. What specific knowledge and skills would be most appropriate for these careers? Are there some basic functions as well as linguistic elements that are common to most careers? Should these students, then, complete a common core and then branch into more specialized tracks with major content taught in the language? How would our current specializations—literature, civilization, linguistics, pedagogy—contribute within such a program?

3. Students of French and Spanish are not older today than in 1985, at least at this predominantly commuter university. The largest group of students is still between 18 and 21 years old. Female students outnumber males roughly 60 percent to 40 percent in Spanish, 70 to 30 percent in French.

4. Spanish grades are more inflated than French grades relative to overall grade point averages. Might this apparent benefit account for some of the growth in Spanish enrollments when new requirements are put in place?

5. "False beginners" make up about half of all first-semester students in both languages. In addition to creating a possibly discouraging environment for true beginners, these students are apparently not taking advantage of previous Spanish study to the fullest extent possible. One solution to this problem might be to make the first semester non-credit for those who have previously studied the language, combined with the use of a communication-based placement test and articulation between the schools and the university. In fact, the Ohio Collaborative Articulation/Assessment Project (Stansfield 1994) may be a prototype for such endeavors.

6. Between 13 and 17 percent of Spanish language students at all levels have families who speak Spanish at home. This proportion grew slightly in ten years, although the amount of Spanish spoken in the home declined slightly, according to students' reports. This group of heritage learners has traditionally been neglected, in the sense that little effort has been made to analyze their needs and devise programs that build on their considerable strengths. Only recently has the profession begun to address this issue beyond individual schools and universities (see, for example, Valdés 1980, 1992, 1995).

7. Most French and Spanish students perceive language study to be "essential" or "important" for all students. The language requirement does not seem to alter this view.

8. For Spanish students in 1985 and French students today, "I like it" is the main reason for studying the language; in 1995, however, lower-division Spanish students ranked the language requirement as their first motivation, followed by professional reasons. Neither language group admitted selecting the language because it was the easiest language to learn. Perhaps once they begin the study of a language, they find that it is not particularly easy.

9. Both French and Spanish students selected oral communication goals over all others and rated culture last. For Spanish students, way-of-life culture was preferred almost five times more than formal culture (art, music, literature), and literature as a separate category was ranked far behind all others. French students were less extreme in their choices, although their rankings were similar at the lower levels. Students apparently do not perceive a relationship between their goals and interests and the study of literature and culture, as was found by Martin and Laurie (1993) in Australia, although they also concluded

that students' anxiety about their abilities was a contributing factor. It would seem that literature and culture need to be made more accessible to students, and the value of both for their own lives needs to be made clearer to them.

10. Professional courses taught in the language and immersion courses would be most popular among both French and Spanish groups, although upper-division French students rank culture study in the language higher than professional courses.
11. Outside of class, students claim that they would engage in communicative activities such as conversation and e-mail with native speakers and conversation groups.

Recent technological advances are revolutionizing language teaching. The market offers teachers as well as students a variety of possibilities using CD-ROM, laser discs, cassettes, video programs, computer programs, etc. These new technologies break the boundaries of the classic lecture-centered class. With computers, students can practice the language and check grammar, vocabulary, or pronunciation. At the same time, they can broaden their knowledge of the target language culture by involving themselves in specific e-mail groups or navigating the World Wide Web. For teachers, technology-assisted classes become more active and vivid.

The picture of this university's language students that emerges here shows them to be professionally and communicatively oriented, valuing language study as useful for their future lives. Clearly, the faculty should analyze the program in detail to evaluate the degree to which these students' needs and preferences are being met. This recommendation has been made before, both locally and in the professional literature (e.g., Guntermann 1983; Rivers 1985; and Harlow and Muyskens 1994). Indeed in 1981, this university initiated a semi-intensive program in five languages for carefully selected students preparing for international professions, and these courses continue to be taught in Spanish and French and occasionally in Japanese, but only a small group of students is served by this program.

There may be many reasons for the lack of variety in curricular options for students across the nation, including academic values that still reject an emphasis on practical language uses; the loss of faculty due to

years of economic distress; faculty who are ill-prepared to change the program, given their rather narrow specializations and the lack of expertise in curriculum development; and the poverty of rewards for developing and implementing innovative curricula. In addition, there is a lack of textbooks and other learning materials that combine a professional orientation with the development of overall proficiency.

Using integrated curricula is one way to begin to meet the needs of these students with varied interests and goals in our courses. Language proficiency development, cultural knowledge, and literature should be a focus at all levels. More familiarity with the target culture can be developed in language courses, including upper-division conversation and composition courses, through use of authentic oral and written materials—magazines, newspapers, TV programs, and radio broadcasts, as well as resources on the Internet—that deal with current events and daily life in the society. Students can also be introduced to materials treating "Big C" culture—art, music, literature, history, and the politics, economy, and sociology of the target culture—in these courses as well. Knowledge gained through activities working with these materials will better prepare students to live and work in the culture. Traditional upper-division content courses, i.e., period literature and civilization courses, can be reorganized into area studies courses or period studies courses that integrate many manifestations of Culture, including literature, art, historical events, etc., into the course. Conscious attention to development of language proficiency should continue in these content courses through the use of communicative activities appropriate to the students' proficiency level, small group discussion, individual and group presentations of subject matter, and cooperative learning for planning and problem-solving.

Other areas that need attention are grade inflation, placement of students at levels appropriate to their backgrounds, an expanded program for Spanish speakers, and the creation of extracurricular activities such as conversation groups and e-mail with native speakers.

While these surveys have given us much information about our students, similar information from other types of institutions of higher education is needed, as well as more in-depth studies involving interviews and the collection of data from varied sources, in order to provide a basis for effective curriculum development.

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Appendix

SPANISH STUDENT SURVEY–FALL 1995

Thank you for your participation in this effort to know and understand your preferences and interests. Please take the time to think carefully about each item, and add any other comments of your own at the end. Remember, you need not give your name; your responses will remain anonymous, and this exercise is unrelated to your grade in the course.

General Information

The number of the course you are taking now: _____

The time of day of your class: _____

Your major: _____ Age: _____ Sex: M F

GPA: _____ Spanish Grade Ave.: _____

Other languages you have studied or know: _____

Importance of Language Study

In your opinion, how important is the study of foreign languages for all students today? (Please circle.)

Essential	Important	Somewhat important	Not at all important

Your Previous Experience with Spanish (Please check all that apply.)

____ I studied Spanish in high school (No. of years: ____)

____ I studied Spanish at another college/university
(No. of quarters/semesters _____)

____ Spanish is spoken in my family 100% ____ ; 75% ____ 50%____ ;
25% ____ ;
other_____.

____ I have traveled/lived in an Hispanic country/countries
Name of country/countries:_____

____ Other:_____

Your Plans for the Future

What plans or hopes do you have to use Spanish in the future? Please explain.

Your Reasons for Studying Spanish. (Please RANK YOUR TOP three reasons: 1 = MOST IMPORTANT, 3 = LEAST IMPORTANT.)

____ It is required for my major.
____ I like Spanish.
____ Spanish is the easiest language to learn.
____ It is important in the Southwest.
____ I want to use it in my work or profession (type of work: _____)
____ My family speaks Spanish/ It is my heritage.
____ Spanish is my major.
____ Spanish is my minor.
____ Other(s):_____

Where Did You Begin at this University?

If you have studied Spanish previously in high school or in another college or university, at what level did you begin to study Spanish *at this university?* (Please circle.)

SPA 101 102 107 111 201 202 207
SPA 311 312 313 314 412 Literature courses

Goals and Preferences

A. What do you want/expect to learn from Spanish study? Please RANK IN ORDER OF THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR *you* the following goals.
(1 = most important; 7 = least important)

____ to be able to communicate in Spanish outside of class
____ to be able to carry out professional/work-related functions
____ to know about Hispanic cultures: customs, values, way-of-life information
____ to be able to read and appreciate literature in Spanish
____ to be able to function appropriately in social situations in Spanish
____ to know about the Spanish language: vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, etc.
____ to be informed about Hispanic formal culture: art, music, literature, history, geography, etc.

Comments:

B. What relative emphasis do you think should be given to culture and language skills in Spanish classes? PLEASE RANK THEM ACCORDING TO YOUR OWN PREFERENCE, 1 = most important; 5 = least important.

____ listening ____ speaking ____ culture ____ reading ____ writing

Comments:

C. Which of the following courses, if any, would you take if they were offered? Please check any that apply.

Spanish for Your Profession _____
(for example, Spanish for Business or for Medical Personnel)

A Spanish reading course ____ Hispanic culture taught in Spanish ____

Spanish/English translation ____

A Spanish immersion program (full time for 1 semester = 4 semesters of study and credit) ____

Other:_____

D. If you had the opportunity, which of the following would you like to participate in outside of class? Please check any that apply.

____ Spanish Club ____ Spanish conversation groups
____ Spanish House group or dormitory ____ Computer discussion
____ e-mail with Spanish speakers in other countries
____ e-mail with other Spanish students at this university
____ Spanish television programs ____ Spanish movies
____ Reading literature in Spanish
____ Reading magazines and/or newspapers in Spanish
____ Conversation with native speakers
____ Surfing the Internet for Hispanic sites
____ Other: _____

Additional Comments. Please provide any further thoughts about your preferences with regard to Spanish study:

Le Français est mort, vive le français: Rethinking the Function of French

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The decline in undergraduate French enrollments over the past years has been a cause of great concern for teachers, administrators, and professional organizations. While overall French enrollments actually increased by nearly 10 percent from 1980 to 1990, numbers declined by 30 percent between 1968 and 1990, as illustrated by statistics furnished by the Modern Language Association (Brod and Huber 1992), reproduced in Table 1.

Table 1.

Undergraduate French Enrollments, 1960–1990

Year	Enrollment
1960	228,813
1968	388,096
1970	359,313
1980	248,361
1983	270,123
1986	275,328
1990	272,472

Indeed, French was the only language besides Ancient Greek and Hebrew (classical and modern combined) to show a decrease in net growth from 1986 to 1990 (-1.6 percent). Spanish, by comparison, increased 67.8 percent in the same period, and Japanese, with a 12.3 percent increase for the same period, was second in net growth.

The classic explanations for the decline of French are convincing: Given the growing population and economic influence of the U.S. Hispanic communities, the proximity of Mexico and Central and South America, NAFTA and other trade opportunities, Spanish is perceived to be not only a second language in many geographic regions, but also a language that will be useful to students in finding a job. French, on the other hand, cannot match the perceived utility of Spanish and Japanese. It is viewed as "impractical" and inaccessible.

The very plausibility of this reasoning accounts perhaps for the paucity of literature that discusses these enrollment shifts. To investigate the motivation for language choice more empirically, the authors designed a survey to gather students' perceptions of French and Spanish. Looking at what French students perceived as positive about their language and what they saw as negative in the other, as well as what Spanish students considered negative about French, we sought a better idea of the motivations of students who either choose to begin or decide to continue to study French and by extension, of the respective language's functions in the curriculum and in society. In this article, we analyze the data generated by this study and suggest strategies for coping with the downward enrollment trend.

The Role Of Language Function In Language Choice

A productive theoretical framework for conceptualizing notions of language choice is that of language functions, as defined in the British School of linguists represented most fundamentally in the writings of Halliday (1973, 1978). The term "language function" in this school of thought refers to the social or anthropological uses of language, rather than the linguistic functions associated with recent work in language proficiency (cf. the ACTFL Guidelines with the functions associated with each proficiency level). The list in Table 2 gives our interpretation of some of the basic functions that are relevant to our discussion.

Several researchers have investigated language function in relation to issues of social organization and power. In particular, Kachru's (1986) and Berns' (1990) discussions of the roles of English in India, Japan, and

Table 2.

Halliday's Function of Language Use

Function	Definition	Example
instrumental	using language to accomplish a specific goal	learning Spanish to get a better job
transformative[1]	using language to change one's world view	learning French to gain insights into self, one's own or the target culture
aesthetic	using language as a vehicle for beauty	learning Japanese to do calligraphy of kanji
imaginative	using language to express human creativity	learning Spanish to write poetry or stories
innovative	using language to create new concepts or change existing connotations	learning a language as a source of new ideas or of avoiding L1 taboos
integrative	using language to forge or maintain social bonds	learning Spanish to communicate with penpals or extended family members

Germany can be a fruitful point of departure for a discussion of Spanish and French in the United States. For Kachru, "the power of English . . . resides in the domains of its use, the roles its users can play, and—attitudinally—above all, how others view its importance" (1986, p. 4). Those people who control the use of English in India also control domains that have professional prestige. The role of English in India has been transformed from that of a contact language between colonizers and colonized, to a fully functional variety that can enable its users to navigate the intranational administration and educational arenas as well as the domains of international science, technology, and business (1986). Kachru claims that English in India has become a second language, and demonstrates how it serves regulative, instrumental, imaginative, and innovative functions.

Berns' (1990) discussion of English in Japan and Germany is similar. She argues that although English remains a foreign language in those countries, its vehicular load is widening and it is increasingly taking on the characteristics of a full-fledged second language. This is especially true of Germany, where English fulfills the instrumental, interpersonal, and with the use of borrowing, abbreviation, hybridization, and creativity in non-literary written and spoken texts, the imaginative and innovative functions.

Clearly, the insights provided by notion of linguistic functions can contribute to our understanding of language choice among undergraduates. In the case of French and Spanish, we hypothesize that these languages are in complementary functional distribution, with Spanish dominating in the instrumental and interpersonal functions, and French in the aesthetic and transformative functions.

Methodology

To test our hypothesis, we created a survey instrument to elicit: students' attitudes toward Spanish, French, and Japanese and their speakers; whether students remained loyal to the language they chose to study; and words students associated with Spanish, French, and Japanese. The survey is reprinted in full in the Appendix. In this paper we limit our discussion to the results for French and Spanish only.

The survey[2] consists of 68 questions, in 54 of which respondents were asked to give their reactions to prompts using a Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." The answer sheets for the first 54 questions were optically readable scantron pages, and the final 14 questions were answered on a separate printed page. Each question was asked in three different sections relating to Spanish, French, and Japanese. The question prompts were basically repeated for each. For example, given a prompt for Language X, the same prompt was given in the following section for Language Y, with a simple substitution of the name of the language. There were three questions per language section that were reserved solely for students of that language. For example, Question 16: "I'm studying Spanish because I enjoy it" was appropriate only for Spanish learners and so only they were asked to respond. In all, students were asked to answer 62 of the 68 questions, ignoring the three questions pertaining to the two languages they did not study.

The final 14 questions, consisting of a combination of multiple-choice and open-ended questions, were to be answered by all students. The first ten of these were for the purposes of demographic identification including sex, age, languages studied and place of study, languages spoken in the respondent's household, parents' educational level, parents' professions, and respondent's ethnic background.

The questionnaire was administered in two classes of French 203 and four classes of Spanish 203 at the University of Oregon at Eugene, near the end of the Spring term, 1995. These sixth quarter classes represent the final portion of the two-year language requirement for most liberal arts majors. The same questionnaire was administered at the end of the Fall semester, 1995, to four classes of French 30 and six classes of Spanish 30 at Brandeis University in Waltham, MA.[3] These third-semester classes likewise represent the end of the three-semester language requirement.

Limitations

It should be noted that this was a small experimental pilot study with no scientific sampling. No external validity can be claimed and the results are only suggestive for further research. Subsequent replications, with a higher number of respondents in divergent institutional contexts, may yield different results. We can claim only that this survey represents a snapshot characterization of these respondents' attitudes on the day they responded to the survey.

Quantitative Results: Questions 1–36, Survey Sections A–D

Our quantitative analysis focuses first on French students' perceptions of French, followed by Spanish students' perceptions of Spanish and, finally, each group's view of the other.

Table 3 summarizes French students' responses in order of frequency, with the column on the right giving the percentage of French students who agreed with each statement. Highlighting the results that are most significant for our study, we find that the highest percentage of responses can be subsumed under three functions, "instrumental," "aesthetic," and "transformative." The last function refers to French in its role of agent of personal/cultural enrichment or change.

Table 3.

Attitudes and Perceptions of French Students about French and the French

Statement	% agreement
French is a beautiful language.	98.04
French is useful for world travel.	98.04
I would like to study French for cultural enrichment.	94.00
French is a precise language.	84.09
I'm studying French because I enjoy it.	82.35
Knowledge of French could help me find a job.	82.00
I would like to study French to learn more about French art, history, and literature.	82.00
French people are friendly.	81.25
I would like to learn French because of its romance.	74.00
French is useful for business.	59.09
I'm studying French because of a good experience I had with another French teacher in the past.	57.14
I would like to learn French because of its prestige.	48.94
French is the language to study for people who are going on to college.	45.65
French is an easy language to learn.	40.82
I'm studying French because I have friends, family, or relatives who speak it.	35.42
I would like to study French to learn more about scientific and technical developments in French-speaking countries.	28.57
French-speaking people are rude.	23.40
There aren't a lot of differences between English and French.	18.37

Table 4.

Attitudes and Perceptions of Spanish Students about Spanish and Hispanics

Statement	% agreement
Knowledge of Spanish could help me find a job.	95.00
Spanish is useful for world travel.	95.00
Spanish is useful for business.	90.00
Spanish is a beautiful language.	85.00
I would like to study Spanish for cultural enrichment.	80.00
Spanish people are friendly.	73.63
I'm studying Spanish because I enjoy it.	68.69
Spanish is a precise language.	64.29
I would like to study Spanish to learn more about Spanish art, history, and literature.	62.00
Spanish is an easy language to learn.	60.00
Spanish is the language to study for people who are going on to college.	42.42
I'm studying Spanish because I have friends, family, or relatives who speak it.	37.00
I'm studying Spanish because of a good experience I had with another Spanish teacher in the past.	32.00
I would like to learn Spanish because of its romance.	31.31
There aren't a lot of differences between English and Spanish.	29.00
I would like to learn Spanish because of its prestige.	28.00
I would like to study Spanish to learn more about scientific and technical developments in Spanish-speaking countries.	22.22
Spanish-speaking people are rude.	11.46

Addressing the instrumental function, students nearly unanimously viewed French as useful for world travel (98.04 percent). Significantly, students perceived French as being useful for finding a job (82 percent). More than half of the students felt that French would be useful for business (59.09 percent). French is the language of the academically ambitious for nearly half the respondents (45.65 percent). But only 28.57 percent of students would study French to learn more about science and technology.

In the aesthetic category, nearly all students found French to be a beautiful language (98.04 percent), and three quarters found French to be a language of romance (74 percent).

With regard to the transformative function, the vast majority of respondents seek to study French for cultural enrichment (94 percent) and to learn more about high culture (82 percent). French is prestigious for approximately half of the respondents (48.94 percent).

Table 4 summarizes the Spanish students' responses, with the column on the right giving the percentage of Spanish students who agreed with each statement. As can be seen, the greatest number of answers fall into the "instrumental" function: the majority found that knowledge of Spanish will enable them to find a job (95 percent), that it is useful for world travel (95 percent) and business (90 percent). In an almost equal percentage as French respondents, Spanish students felt that their language was an appropriate choice for college-bound students (42.42 percent). In a slightly lesser percentage than their French counterparts, these students chose Spanish to learn more about scientific and technical developments (22.22 percent).

A high number of respondents also considered Spanish a beautiful language (85 percent) but only a third (31.31 percent) considered it a language of romance.

Looking at the transformative function, 80 percent of the respondents study Spanish for cultural enrichment. Knowledge of high culture is cited by approximately two-thirds of students as a motivating factor for studying Spanish (62 percent). Only 28 percent agreed that Spanish carried prestige.

Representing the Other

Chi-square analysis was used to compare how French and Spanish learners view both their own and each others' language. In Table 5, we report the items on the survey where there was a significant difference judged at the .02 level with the Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square.

Table 5.

French and Spanish Students' Responses Compared

Statement	%S	%F	chi
1. Knowledge of French could help me find a job.	51.58	82.00	.000
2. French is a precise language.	53.85	84.09	.000
3. I would like to study French for cultural enrichment.	62.37	94.00	.000
4. French is useful for world travel.	80.00	98.04	.001
5. I would like to study French to learn more about French art, history, and literature.	53.76	82.00	.001
6. French is useful for business.	31.03	59.09	.002
7. French is the language to study for people who are going on to college.	22.58	45.65	.006
8. French people are friendly.	60.00	81.25	.009
9. French is an easy language to learn.	21.28	40.82	.015
10. French is a beautiful language.	87.37	98.04	.016
11. I would like to learn Spanish because of its prestige.	28.00	10.64	.019
12. Spanish is the language to study for people who are going on to college.	42.42	15.56	.020
13. Spanish is useful for business.	90.00	75.00	.020

Once again, the three functions previously identified organize our discussion of the perceptions of the learners of one language about the other. Spanish learners perceived French as being less useful than Spanish in terms of business, travel, and preparation for college (see responses 1, 4, 6, 7). Responses 3 and 5 could indicate that Spanish students are less

interested in the transformative function that French may represent. Response 10 shows that French is perceived as less beautiful by Spanish students than by French. Finally, French students perceived Spanish as being less prestigious and less suitable for people going on to college (11 and 12).

Qualitative Results: Question 11, Survey Section G

Question 11 asked students to complete the phrase "I'm happy I chose to study French because . . ." to determine the degree of student satisfaction in their language choice, as well as to investigate further the function the language fulfilled in their overall academic and/or career goals.

Responses fell into ten categories. Although one category, "[I took it because it was a] requirement," seemed not to pertain to the question, it nonetheless provided an interesting insight (see below). Table 6 summarizes the responses by language. Note that some students gave multiple answers to this question.

Table 6.

Question 11: Reasons for Students' Choice of Language

Category of response	Percent of French Students (N=72)	Percent of Spanish Students (N=123)
Useful	31.9	54.2
Enriching	19.4	8.4
Beautiful	18.1	3.1
Enjoyable	13.9	12.2
Culturally rich	6.9	3.1
Prior study	4.2	2.3
Easy	2.8	6.1
Literature	1.4	1.5
Requirement	1.4	6.1
Heritage	0.0	3.1

Question 11: Analysis

An analysis of these data reveals several interesting findings. Not surprisingly, nearly 60 percent of the Spanish respondents were happy they studied Spanish because of its utility. Yet the largest group of French respondents, a full third, were also pleased for the same reason. A closer look at the text of their respective answers, however, reveals that utility in the case of Spanish applied more often to business, career, and everyday communication. Typical answers for Spanish included: "I am from California where Spanish is spoken a lot." "The west coast, U[niversity] of O[regon], is close to many Spanish-speaking countries. NAFTA might create job opportunities for bilingual Americans speaking Spanish." "It is very useful for jobs in the United States and throughout the world." "It is useful in the business world." "It can help me get into medical school and it is very beautiful." "I feel that it will help me in my career as a doctor to communicate with my patients."

In contrast, typical answers given by French students emphasized the language's usefulness in travel and study/residence abroad: "I travel to France frequently and it is very useful." "I hope to live there for at least a year." "It comes up a lot while studying art." "It allows me the opportunity that if and when I go to a French-speaking country, I will be able to communicate, sort of."

Also revealing was the ranking of the category "enjoyable" (which included such expressions as "fun," "like," and "love"). While almost equal percentages found their language study enjoyable, in the case of Spanish, this was the second-ranking reason for satisfaction. In the case of French, however, "enjoyable" ranked fourth below "beautiful" and "enriching." It would appear that the transformative function of French is a predominate reason for student happiness.

A final noteworthy category was that of "easy." Although only mentioned by a small number of respondents, this was the fourth-ranked reason for satisfaction among the Spanish students, mentioned by 6.1 percent of the participants. Among French students, this category ranked sixth (2.8 percent of respondents). We may speculate that whereas the "ease" of learning Spanish attracts students initially, other factors displace it after several semesters of study.

Finally, we may briefly consider the answer that alludes to the language requirement. A fuller version might have been "I'm indifferent/not

happy that I'm taking Language X; I'm taking it merely to fulfill the language requirement." It may be significant that a larger percentage of Spanish students than French answered this way (although the actual numbers were small). One might speculate that since students who are not interested in language are often directed to Spanish because of its perceived "ease," larger numbers of Spanish students may fail to associate any function with their study.

Question 12, Survey Section G

In question 12, students were asked to explain why they were unhappy with the choice of language they had made. Significantly, many answered that they were not unhappy or simply left the question blank (French: 45.7 percent, Spanish: 57.5 percent). Of the answers obtained, nine categories could be established. Students were unhappy with a language's difficulty, lack of utility, or their own lack of interest; they found language study too time-consuming, too easy, or fatiguing; they found their chosen language to be not prestigious, not beautiful; or they received poor instruction. In Table 7, the categories not recorded had no responses.

Table 7.

Reasons for Dissatisfaction with Language Study

Category of response	Percent of French Students (N=22)	Percent of Spanish Students (N=48)
Hard	40.9	35.4
Not useful	31.8	4.2
No interest	18.2	14.6
Time-consuming	4.5	35.4
Easy	4.5	0
Not prestigious	0	4.2
Fatigue	0	2.1
Not beautiful	0	2.1
Poor instruction	0	2.1

Question 12: Analysis

The largest category complained about the difficulty of both French (40.9 percent) and Spanish (35.4 percent). An equally large percentage of Spanish students were unhappy with the time-consuming nature of their courses, whereas this criticism came up far less frequently among the French students (4.5 percent).

These data tend to confirm what we saw in question 12, where "easy" ranked low as a reason for Spanish student satisfaction with language choice: it seems that the notion of Spanish being easily mastered diminishes as language study progresses. In the case of French, we may speculate that since this language is perceived as difficult, students who choose to study it are prepared to spend more time working at it. Thus, the time-consuming nature of the task is cited less often as a cause of unhappiness.

Also noteworthy was the mention of the lack of prestige (4.2 percent) or beauty (2.1 percent) associated with Spanish. Although cited by very few respondents, these answers anticipate a point we make in the next section, namely that language choice may be predicated upon racial, ethnic, and socio-economic factors that students associate with speakers of a language.

Question 13, Survey Section G

If students could choose again, which language would they study? Question 13 asked them to reflect on this matter. The two charts in Table 8 (see page 48) summarize their answers. (N.B.: Some students named two languages in their response.)

Question 13: Analysis

The largest percentage of French students would choose Spanish if they had another opportunity. With few exceptions, utility was cited as the reason. For those students who would again select French if they could roll back the clock, utility was likewise invoked by the majority when a reason was given: "I don't want to study Spanish or Japanese. My major is in art, not Spanish or Japanese and it is helpful." "I really enjoy the language and feel it will be useful to me." "I think it was useful and fun to learn." "It has helped me understand English better and it should help me in my profession." "I love the language and I would like to live in Paris someday." Beauty was occasionally invoked: "Even though Spanish or Japanese might

Table 8.

Language Choice by Hindsight

Responses by French Students (N=49)	
Would choose . . .	
Spanish	49.0%
French	36.7%
Japanese	14.3%
No answer	6.1%

Responses by Spanish Students (N=115)	
Would choose . . .	
Spanish	62.6%
French	10.4%
Japanese	7.8%
No answer	17.4%
Not applicable	1.7%

be more useful, I don't like the sound of them as much as I do French." Significantly, more than a third of respondents would not abandon French, despite the perception that it is less useful than Spanish.

More than 60 percent of Spanish students would choose Spanish again, by far because of its utility. When Spanish students mentioned French and explained their answer, they cited utility as the explanation for switching: "French would be more useful than Japanese." "Once again, French would be more useful for grad school plus there are many French speakers in my family." "I would like to live in Canada someday and be able to communicate in Montreal." "I want to major in art history." Interest in the literature and culture was sporadically invoked: "I studied French in high school and liked the language and literature more than Spanish but I would rather know Spanish because I think it would be more useful." "I am interested in the language and the culture."

Question 14, Survey Section G

In question 14, students were asked to name three words they associated with each of the languages targeted by the survey.[4] The purpose of this activity, of course, was to elicit images of French, Spanish, and Japanese

through free association. While some associations may have been prompted by the text of earlier questions, the variety of responses given by the participants suggests that they were not overly influenced by the content of the survey itself. However, the wording of the question itself may have been misleading to some students who, instead of making associations, apparently wrote three words that they knew in the particular languages, such as *taco, bonjour,* or *sushi.* On the other hand, it may be the case that these are indeed the words evoked by the languages in question.

The word associations elicited by this question fell into 16 semantic fields and/or word classes. These are listed below, with an explanation of the rationale and content of the classification.

1. **Beauty/Romance:** words that refer to the beauty of the language or to the romance that the sound, cultural artifacts, and literary traditions associated with the language presumably suggest. Examples include *beautiful, romantic, kiss, sexy, men, love, attractive, flowing, expressive.*
2. **Ease:** words that suggest the ease with which a language could be acquired. Examples include *easy, simple, understandable, like English.*
3. **Fun/Appealing:** words indicating that a language is fun to learn or that it appeals to students in ways other than those suggested by the first two categories. Examples from this category are *joyful, like it, fun, exciting, interesting, prestigious.*
4. **Utility:** words that describe the usefulness of a language. Common tokens are *known, growing, useful, common, everywhere, important, global, business.*
5. **Emotional Bond:** words such as *people, warmth, friendliness, religion, family* that suggest that students feel an emotional bond with the native culture bearers.
6. **Art/Literature/Film:** words or phrases that refer to a culture's artistic achievements: *literature, cultural, literary, old movies, Mona Lisa, art, Don Quijote.*
7. **Difficulty:** terms that refer to the perceived difficulty of learning the language, such as *hard, difficult, challenging, complicated.*
8. **Unappealing:** other negative terms related to the language or to its speakers: *dirty, vulgar, ugly, poor, dirty, rude, smelly, snob, arrogance, no thanks.*

9. **Immigration/Foreign:** terms that describe the immigrant status of a language's speakers or their foreignness: *immigrant, migrant workers, migrants, foreign, Hillsboro,*[5] *farming.*
10. **Geography:** locations such as Paris, France, Canada, Mexico, Puerto Rico or Spain.
11. **Food:** *tacos, burritos, crêpes, bread, wine, cheese.*
12. **Popular Culture:** words that refer to everyday items aside from food: *Renault, beret, silver jewelry, siesta, fiesta, piñata.*
13. **Fashion/Style:** items that refer to fashion or the fashion industry: *chic, style, haute couture.*
14. **Miscellaneous:** words that clearly attempt to characterize the language and the culture, but whose lack of larger context led to semantic ambivalence and thus precluded categorization. We were uncertain, for example, whether adjectives such as *quick, lively, precise, individual,* and *inexpensive* should be classified under "Ease," "Fun/Appealing," "Utility," "Difficulty," or "Unappealing," respectively. Other examples include *nasal, throat, articulate.*
15. **Words:** lexical items that a student knows in a particular language: *c'est la vie, chouette, merde, gato, hasta, dinero.*
16. **Names:** names of instructors, textbooks, and friends.

In trying to determine students' perceptions of and attitudes toward a language, we were particularly interested in the first nine categories. We considered categories 1–4 (beauty/romance, ease, fun/appealing, utility) as indications of positive perceptions of a language or culture. Categories 5–6 (emotional bond and art/literature/film) signified that the language was an efficacious instrument for forming bonds or a vehicle for significant cultural contributions. On the other hand, we viewed categories 7–9 (difficulty, unappealing, and immigration/foreign) as reflecting negative perceptions. The next five categories, geography, food, popular culture, clothing, and miscellaneous, also contained revealing indicators of perception and attitude, although less so than the others. It is unclear, for example, whether *taco* may be considered a fun or tasty food, or a less refined fast food. Likewise, it is not certain whether students associate *siesta* with a healthy attitude toward life or with laziness. The last two categories, words and names, are not considered here, since their relevance was not always apparent.

Linguistic and Cultural Portraits

By comparing the French group's perceptions of Spanish with the Spanish students' perceptions of French, we can develop a clearer snapshot of how each group represents the other. Juxtaposing each category and ordering the percentages from high to low, we obtain the profiles shown in Table 9.

This juxtaposition portrays some startling findings. While both groups of students acknowledge a primary *positive* function of each language (utility for Spanish, aesthetics for French), the next largest percentage of both groups finds the other language unappealing.[6] As might be expected, French is considered more difficult and Spanish easier, but these points of view are given by only approximately 10 percent of the respondents in both groups. Likewise, approximately 10 percent of the respondents associate either language with fun (but see the following section: Geography, Low Culture, and Miscellaneous). Nor does one group overwhelmingly associate one language with high culture (but again, see the next section).

Table 9.

Students' Associations with the Language Not Studied

Category of response	French View of Spanish (in percent)	Category of response	Spanish View of French (in percent)
Utility	27.5	Beauty/Romance	40.3
Unappealing	23.5	Unappealing	25.9
Ease	13.7	Difficulty	10.8
Fun/Appealing	9.8	Fun/Appealing	10.8
Immigration/Foreign	9.8	Art/Literature/Film	6.5
Emotional Bond	9.8	Ease	2.9
Beauty/Romance	3.9	Utility	2.9
Art/Literature/Film	2.0	Emotional Bond	0
Difficulty	0	Immigration	0

An important question pertains to students of French and the population at large with regard to language prestige: Do many Americans decide against studying a language based on some half-hidden fears of otherness defined by differences of skin color and socio-economic category? Whether such dubious motivations exist as well among Spanish students is overridden by its utility, a factor that makes it a prestige language among Spanish learners, but less so among learners of French. This class distinction is maintained as well in the food associations (see next section). One could also make the case that class motivations are at work in questions about beauty of a language, with French being judged beautiful and culturally rich by 26.5 percent of the French learners, whereas only 6.6 percent of the Spanish students qualified Spanish as such.

Geography, Popular Culture, and Miscellaneous

We group under this heading the five relevant remaining categories: geography, food, popular culture, fashion, and miscellaneous. We examine each of them in turn for further indications of perceptions of language and culture.

Geography: This category is not especially revealing to our discussion. It is, however, distressing to note how little of the Hispanic and Francophone world was represented: 80 percent of students associated French with Paris or France; 70 percent associated Spanish with Mexico or Spain.

Food: The food category was markedly different for the two languages. Students overwhelmingly associated Spanish with standard Tex-Mex fare: tacos (10); burritos (5); beer (5); tequila (5); beans (4); guacamole (2); salsa (2); enchiladas, fajitas, tortillas, enchiladas, margaritas, piña coladas (1 each).

The majority of students associated French with the classic wine-bread-cheese triad: wine (10); bread (8); croissant (6); baguette (2); cheese (3). Only Spanish students associated French with fries (5) or toast (2).

While difficult to conclude with any certainty, we might attempt to associate these food listings with the previously examined categories. The Spanish associations might reinforce the notions of "fun/appealing," since the foods mentioned are usually associated with casual or party-like settings. The wine-cheese-bread grouping might reinforce the categories of beauty/romance, difficulty, or high culture, since these are items that are considered luxury imports, the domain of connoisseurs or *becs-fins* or, in

the case of croissants and baguettes, more expensive and more skillfully prepared than rolls and bread.

Popular Culture: Like the food category, the majority (75 percent) of items associated with Spanish may reinforce the fun/appealing semantic field: dance (6); sporting events (4); music (3); parties and festivals (3); piñatas (2).

More than half of the students (57 percent) associated berets with French. The remaining items were cars or celebrities.

Fashion: Students associated fashion only with French, perhaps reinforcing the notion of beauty/romance or fun/appealing. Items included chic (2); fashion (2); models, perfume, style, haute couture, garment and cravate (1 each).

Miscellaneous: Many of the responses in this category attempted to characterize the language or culture in impressionistic terms. For Spanish, the most frequent response was "fast." This answer, along with others such as "excited," "colors," "red," "heat," "warm," and "hot weather," suggest the "fun/appealing" category, evoking a dynamic culture associated with vacations and vivid sensations. Adjectives such as "smooth" and "flowing" signify that the language is also viewed as appealing.

For French, such terms as "smooth-flowing," "soft," "mysterious," and "soothing" may correlate with the category beauty/romance; others, such as "precise," "lively," "articulate," "pride," and "individual" may be terms that indicate appeal; "quick," "fast," "throat," and "nasal" may betray difficulty or unappealing qualities.

To summarize this discussion, we could only speculate as to the relationship between these associations and those contained in the nine more clearly delineated categories outlined earlier (Linguistic and Cultural Portraits). It is more than likely, however, that a link exists and that as a consequence, the analysis presented in the preceding section should be modified, giving greater importance to the semantic field of "fun/appealing" for Spanish and to "beauty/romance" for French. The perception of French as fun/appealing as well as difficult/unappealing may also increase slightly based on the word associations in the categories of geography, popular culture, and miscellaneous.

Implications: Responding to the Decline

A number of responses, both personal and institutional, have been put forward to explain and attempt to reverse the decline in French enrollments.

We now examine several of these proposals in the light of our analysis to see how the data either validate a particular strategy or suggest alternative approaches to the problem.

A few caveats are in order. As mentioned earlier, the sampling of this pilot study is quite small and larger-scale studies may produce different results. Our discussion is not meant as a reproach to the many individuals who have devoted countless hours to creating promotional materials, talking with colleagues and students, revising curricula, etc. We seek rather to reframe the issues and redirect attention to what our study would identify as the most productive responses to this situation.

Finally, we fully realize that our proposals are not applicable to every professional context, nor do they represent "the final word." The results of this survey lead us to postulate that perceptions of French may influence language choice. Many other factors enter into a student's choice of language. Therefore, the solutions to the problem of declining enrollments are just as complex as its causes. We hope, though, that our study will prompt others to investigate carefully their local situation and to respond to it thoughtfully. We also hope that the provocative nature of our proposals will reinvigorate the discussion.

Response 1: Spanish Envy

The first response that we analyze is one that attempts to alter perceptions of French to make it seem more like Spanish, that is to say, useful, fun and easy. A version of this response is given by Albert Valdman, current president of the American Association of Teachers of French (AATF), who states in the association's bulletin (September 1995) that French is a language that is fundamentally not difficult to learn: *". . . une langue qui foncièrement n'est pas difficile d'accès"* (p. 1). His conclusion is that Spanish is not simpler than French; rather, that Spanish teachers are more tolerant of error, which gives students the impression that the latter is easier to learn: *"L'espagnol n'est pas plus facile que le français. Les professeurs d'espagnol sont simplement plus tolérants, plus réalistes peut-être que nous."* (p. 2).[7] He also suggests that the curriculum be opened up to include more content-based courses, such as Business French.

French is further marketed as opening the door for job opportunities, the vehicle of communication in dozens of countries where it is spoken as a first or second language (AATF: No date). Petrey (1995) describes a

marketing effort by the *Services Culturels* of the New York City French consulate:

> AATF members were to learn how to convince potential students that French is the "technological and business language of the future." Once students understand they "they can get jobs and make money" if they know French, French teachers will get jobs and make money too. (p. 381)

A survey by Bryson and Oppenheim (1994) reports that 55 percent of the French departments responding encourage double majors with business.

Our analysis has shown that care should be taken when discussing the question of utility. Not all students perceive of French as useless; in addition, some students like French precisely because it is "non-utilitarian," i.e., fulfills the transformative function. More important, the notion of "utility" must also be considered in terms of geographical proximity and communicative immediacy.[8] Consider the following data:

- Our quantitative analysis showed that the highest percentage of French students' responses identified French as a useful language for world travel. Over 80 percent of students felt that French could help them find a job. However, only half of the Spanish students agreed with this assessment (see Table 5) and only 2.9 percent of Spanish students associated utility with French in their response to question 14.
- The quantitative analysis also indicated that although only 40 percent of French students said that French was easy to learn, 82 percent enjoy their study of the language. Significantly, while 60 percent of the Spanish students indicated that Spanish was easy, only 69 percent found it enjoyable.
- Question 11 of the narrative responses (Survey, Section G) revealed that one-third of French students were happy with their choice of language because it *was* useful. The perceived utility focused on travel and study abroad, whereas the Spanish group couched utility in terms of being able to speak or do business with other members of the community. French cannot make nearly as convincing a claim, given the smaller number of speakers, businesses, and cultural institutions in the United States.
- Taking together the next three categories of responses to question 11 (Survey Section G), it can be asserted that even more students were

happy with the "impractical" nature of French: Over 60 percent liked French because it was personally enriching, enjoyable, beautiful, and culturally rich, factors that define our aesthetic and transformative functions.[9] This is supported by the quantitative data where French students repeatedly evoked these functions (Table 3).

- Asked for a reason that they were unhappy with their choice of language, almost half of the French students did not respond. At least part of this lack of response could be interpreted as meaning that students were not unhappy with their choice. Of the students who answered, the perceived difficulty of French was invoked first, followed by its lack of utility.
- Note too, that in question 13 (Survey Section G), although 42 percent of students would choose Spanish because of its utility if they could reconsider their original language choice, over a third of students would choose French again.
- In the category of ease, whereas only 21 percent of Spanish students agreed that French is an easy language to learn (Table 5), a mere 6.7 percent of Spanish students were happy with their language choice for this reason (question 11, Survey Section G). Significantly, the first reason invoked for unhappiness in question 12, among both French and Spanish groups, was difficulty. In question 13, by far the most common reason for reconsidering language choice was utility, not difficulty. It should be noted, too, that far more students responded to question 13, giving the resulting data more significance.
- Finally, question 14 revealed that nearly equal percentages of French and Spanish students found French to be fun or appealing. Here, Spanish students rated French as more difficult than did French students, although by only approximately 4 percentage points.

To conclude, although ease and utility are clearly factors in language choice, the situation is not clearcut. Whereas there is a large consensus that Spanish is useful, it is not the case that French is considered entirely non-utilitarian. Furthermore, we must not overstate the case of French's utility, for it is not useful in the same way that Spanish is perceived to be. And in our quest to re-present French, we should take care not to abandon our traditional clientèle who is seeking an aesthetic or transformative experience.

Indeed, the "impracticality" of French is not necessarily a negative factor influencing choice. It is also not clear that ease is by itself a compelling notion; and it appears that second-year Spanish students have been disabused of the idea that Spanish is easy!

Finally, our study has shown that neither French nor Spanish has the monopoly on fun. We would caution, though, against overuse of the strategy of tolerating error in order to make French appear less difficult. While this strategy can align itself with our knowledge of the language acquisition process and communicative goals, we should not forget that the French language is an integral part of cultural identity. Students should be made aware that native speakers may idealize how French should be spoken and tend to hold non-natives to an exacting standard. Linguistic purism and a cult of correction form part of the French cultural code. A student unprepared for this exigency is ripe for a negative encounter with a native speaker, and may reinforce perceptions of the French as arrogant and the language as elitist.

Response 2: Hegemonic Impulses

A second response to the decline in enrollments is the assertion that although French may no longer be the language most studied by American students, it should still be considered the number one *foreign language*. One form of this argument is articulated by AATF president Valdman in the organization's *National Bulletin* (Valdman 1995).

Valdman rightly makes a distinction between Spanish and French when he identifies the former as a *second* language in many parts of the United States, and the latter as a *foreign language*. He further distinguishes between the functions of a second language and a foreign language, attributing a primarily instrumental function to the former and a transformative function to the latter. He continues by urging teachers to assert French's status as a "privileged" foreign language in the United States by emphasizing its role as the second most important language of international communication after English, its cultural prestige, and France's technological achievements (p. 1).[10]

Valdman's attitude is conciliatory and well intentioned. By making crucial distinctions based on demography and functions, he seeks to avoid the comparisons and rivalry that do a disservice to French teachers by portraying them as demoralized, defensive and hegemonic. In the past, when

French numbers were higher than Spanish, this very rivalry took on classist and racist tones that were communicated both explicitly and implicitly through choices of teaching materials, methodologies, and representations of culture. Compagnon (1996) describes this earlier situation and injects the same note of caution:

> *Historiquement, la chose française était depuis toujours un signe de distinction: de distinction sociale, ou de classe, d'abord, et de distinction intellectuelle et théorique plus tard. Je ne suis pas sûr que ce soit encore le cas, ni d'ailleurs que la distinction soit une valeur recommandable dans la société académique nord-américaine contemporaine.*[11] (p. L)

Compagnon continues by claiming that since French is primarily a European language and that the current academic climate associates Europe with political and cultural imperialism, French has become particularly targeted as *"le summum de l'hégémonie sociale, de l'élitisme culturel et de l'arrogance intellectuelle"*[12] (p. N).

Our data tend to confirm these associations. As noted in our analysis of question 14, the second-largest group of Spanish students found French to be unappealing, associating it with such words as *arrogance, arrogant, elite, elitism, elitist, imperialism, rude, snob, snobbishness, snobby, snobs, snotty.* Our quantitative data also revealed that over a third of Spanish students and approximately a quarter of French students perceived French-speaking people as rude (Table 5). The relatively large number of these responses and the emotion communicated by them suggest that we avoid comparisons between languages that cast French in an unflatteringly boastful or hegemonic posture.

In response to such negative assessments of French, we would argue for a pedagogy of culture that makes students aware of cultural differences and sociolinguistic factors that are likely to create an impression of rudeness. Such differences may include body language, politeness codes, the upbringing and education of French children, the family, the notion of friendship, *l'esprit critique*, and the importance of the French language in the national identity, among others. Likewise, this pedagogy of culture would emphasize national, regional, and class differences to weaken the association of French with elitism and to portray attitudes not usually found among harried Parisians. (Recall that 80 percent of students associated French with France or Paris.)

Compagnon mentions the trend of establishing courses in Francophone literature as a way of combatting the perception of French as classist and racist:

> *D'où la tendance, puisque le français de ce qu'on appelait la métropole au temps des colonies n'a pas les moyens d'être réhabilité au nom d'une culture subalterne, de miser sur la francophone, c'est-à-dire sur les littératures et cultures des anciennes colonies, pour sauver les études françaises dans l'académie américaine.*[13] (p. N)

Although perhaps in keeping with the current political climate on campus, such a move may reflect "Spanish envy," particularly when the geographic and demographic variation among French speakers is implicitly equated with the diversity of the Hispanic world. Such an equation is misleading, since French and literature of French expression do not have the same sociolinguistic situation in the "Francophone world" as do Spanish and Spanish-language written production in the Hispanic countries. Furthermore, to many, the Francophone movement represents cultural elitism and nostalgic colonialism (cf. Judge [1993], p. 15).

Response 3: *Cultivons Notre Jardin*

Significantly, Valdman introduces his personal response to the decline by this reference to a literary work, Voltaire's *Candide*. Like Valdman, we believe that we should cultivate our garden and do our job better (or continue to do what we do best). This may perhaps be achieved by relaxing our attitudes of linguistic purism or by instituting content-based courses (Petry 1995; Valdman 1995). Our study contains other clues. We saw, for example, that students select and esteem French for its utility in the domains of study, travel, and residence overseas, as well as for integrative reasons such as self-fulfillment and personal enrichment (refer to Table 3 and question 11). Our study also reveals that the most common associations for French are "beauty" and "romance" (Table 3 and question 14).

For us, cultivating our garden may signify emphasizing the aesthetic and transformative functions of French, that is to say, appealing to the functions associated with French by our respondents. In this model, French finds a niche that may complement the instrumental function of Spanish. We are not suggesting that we abandon efforts to "open up" French to other functions. We are simply stating that it is unlikely that French will rival Spanish in the instrumental function, given the current educational and economic climate of this country. Instead of creating expectations among students that may be difficult to realize, might it not be better to identify French with those functions that are important to a large percentage of our clientèle? At the same time, by establishing a

separate identity for French, might we not weaken the comparisons and rivalries between the two languages that do not appear to serve French well? French may then become not the less useful, more difficult language, but a different language with a positive and confident demeanor.

Notes

1. French in its transformative function is eloquently described in the concluding paragraphs of Kaplan's *French Lesson* (1993):

   > Why did I hide in French? If life got too messy, I could take off into my second world. Writing about it has made me air my suspicions, my anger, my longings, to people for whom it's come as a total surprise. There was a time when I even spoke in a different register in French — higher and excited, I was sliding up to those high notes in some kind of a hyped-up theatrical world of my own making.
   >
   > Learning French did me some harm by giving me a place to hide. It's not as if there's a straightforward American self lurking under a devious French one, waiting to come out and be authentic. That's nostalgia — or fiction. French isn't just a metaphor, either — it's a skill. It buys my groceries and pays the mortgage. I'm grateful to French, beyond these material gains, for teaching me that there is more than one way to speak, for giving me a role, for being the home I've made from my own will and my own imagination.
   >
   > All my life, I've used and abused my gift for language. I'm tempted, down to the last page, to wrap things up too neatly in words. (p. 216)

2. In a previous review of the literature on student need and attitude surveys (Knowles 1993), it was clear that no single methodology for this kind of investigation has a dominance over the others. This questionnaire is roughly based on a questionnaire created by Knowles (1993) that had been administered exclusively to French students at the University of Illinois. That study, however, focused more precisely on the perceived functional needs for French, rather than attempt to understand student attitudes toward the French language and its speakers.

3. The University of Oregon is a state-funded university in Eugene, a small city of approximately 100,000 in a fertile agricultural and timber region of the Pacific Northwest region. Brandeis University, located in the densely populated metropolitan Boston area, is a private, secular university with strong ties to the Jewish religion. It was

hypothesized that the divergent geographic regions, institutional contexts, and clientèle would result in significantly different responses. Due to space considerations, we have reserved analysis of the demographic data for a future discussion.

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4. Koop (1991) reports on a survey administered to students who had had at least one course in French civilization. In response to the question, "When you think of France, what comes to your mind immediately?" students named: gastronomy (89 percent); famous places and monuments (64 percent); intellectual life/arts (53 percent); architecture (30 percent); French personality and customs (27 percent); fashion (20 percent); historical events/figures (15 percent); politics (8 percent); economy (5 percent); famous people (4 percent); importance of France in the world (1 percent). Asked to name positive aspects associated with France, 79 percent named intellectual affairs; 31 percent, French personality and customs; 24 percent, picturesque aspects of French life; 23 percent, famous places; 22 percent, gastronomy; 8 percent, politics. Asked for negative aspects, 65 percent mentioned French personality and customs; 24 percent, politics; 22 percent, economy; 9 percent, picturesque aspects of French life; 3 percent, importance of France in the world.

5. A suburb of Portland, OR, where many Mexicans have settled.

6. Cf. Koop's study (1991) where 65 percent of respondents had negative associations with French personality and customs.

7. This claim needs further investigation. Indeed, our study shows mixed perceptions. In Table 4, we saw that 60% of Spanish students found the language to be easy, whereas Table 6 reveals that only 6.1% chose Spanish because it was perceived as easy. Tolerance of error might have more to do with a teacher's methodological orientation, linguistic and language learning background, the institutional setting, etc., rather than with the language taught. That the French language, particularly as learned and used in France, has been influenced by a long, institutionalized history of prescriptivism cannot be disputed.

8. The gendered nature of utility is discussed by Lévy who proclaims that Israeli students' motivation in choosing French is less to learn how to speak than to gain symbolic and cultural capital, which helps to explain the extreme feminization of French studies and the need to maintain programs with a strong literary emphasis versus a practical orientation. In a response to Lévy, Lepetit (1995) claims that in the U.S., this cult of the symbolic and the cultural is neither a necessary nor perhaps even a sufficient condition for the survival of French programs, and that programs with practical orientations can be implemented with success given the proper institutional support.
9. To the dismay of literature specialists, the aesthetic function may have little to do with literature per se, since literature was cited in only 1.5 percent of the French learners' reasons for being happy with their choice of study.
10. And yet, the French anxiety about their language's survival was also illustrated in the context of the Olympic Games. *The New York Times* (Whitney 1996) reports on this "struggle [that] is closest to French patriotic hearts . . . The French Foreign Ministry includes a whole office devoted to spreading the French language; its head, Margie Sudre, insisted vehemently on giving the French language its full due in Atlanta as the second official language of the Games. So 1,000 French-language interpreters have been in place to roam the Olympic village; scoreboards are written in French as well as English, and Mrs. Sudre was there in person on opening day to check upon how well the American organizers kept their promises to be multilingual." (p. 42)
11. Historically, Frenchness had always been a sign of distinction: at first, social or class distinction, and later, intellectual and theoretical distinction. I'm not sure that this is still the case nor, moreover, that distinction is a commendable value in the contemporary North American academic culture.
12. The height of social hegemony, cultural elitism and intellectual arrogance.
13. As a result, the tendency, since the French of what used to be called the mother country during the colonial period has no way of rehabilitating itself in the name of a subaltern culture, to place its bets on Francophonie, that is to say the literatures and cultures of the former colonies, to save French studies in the American academy.

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APPENDIX

We are teachers at the University of Oregon and we would like to find out more about why you have chosen to study a particular foreign language. We hope you will help us by filling out this questionnaire. Please rest assured that your answers will remain anonymous and confidential. This survey will taken approximately twenty minutes to complete. We hope that you will give your frank and honest opinions.

SECTION A

Indicate your opinions about the following statements using the system below. If you:

- **strongly agree** with a statement, fill in circle **A**
- **agree** with a statement, fill in circle **B**
- **disagree** with a statement, fill in circle **C**
- **strongly disagree** with a statement, fill in circle **D**

1. Knowledge of Spanish could help me find a job.
2. Spanish is a beautiful language.
3. Spanish is an easy language to learn.
4. I would like to learn Spanish because of its prestige.
5. Spanish is the language to study for people who are going on to college.
6. Spanish people are friendly.
7. Spanish is useful for business.
8. Spanish is useful for world travel.
9. I would to learn Spanish because of its romance.

10. Spanish is a precise language.
11. I would like to study Spanish for cultural enrichment.
12. There aren't a lot of differences between English and Spanish.
13. Spanish-speaking people are rude.
14. I would like to study Spanish to learn more about Spanish art, history, and literature.
15. I would like to study Spanish to learn more about scientific and technical developments in Spanish-speaking countries.

If you are studying Spanish, please continue. If you are not studying Spanish, skip to the next section.

SECTION B

16. I'm studying Spanish because I enjoy it.
17. I'm studying Spanish because of a good experience I had with another Spanish teacher in the past.
18. I'm studying Spanish because I have friends, family, or relatives who speak it.

SECTION C

Indicate your opinions about the following statements using the system below. If you:

- **strongly agree** with a statement, fill in circle **A**
- **agree** with a statement, fill in circle **B**
- **disagree** with a statement, fill in circle **C**
- **strongly disagree** with a statement, fill in circle **D**

19. Knowledge of French could help me find a job.
20. French is a beautiful language.
21. French is an easy language to learn.
22. I would like to learn French because of its prestige.
23. French is the language to study for people who are going on to college.

24. French people are friendly.
25. French is useful for business.
26. French is useful for world travel.
27. I would like to learn French because of its romance.
28. French is a precise language.
29. I would like to study French for cultural enrichment.
30. There aren't a lot of differences between English and French.
31. French-speaking people are rude.
32. I would like to study French to learn more about French art, history, and literature.
33. I would like to study French to learn more about scientific and technical developments in French-speaking countries.

If you are studying French, please continue. If you are not studying French, skip to the next section.

SECTION D

34. I'm studying French because I enjoy it.
35. I'm studying French because of a good experience I had with another French teacher in the past.
36. I'm studying French because I have friends, family, or relatives who speak it.

SECTION E

Indicate your opinions about the following statements using the system below. If you:

- **strongly agree** with a statement, fill in circle **A**
- **agree** with a statement, fill in circle **B**
- **disagree** with a statement, fill in circle **C**
- **strongly disagree** with a statement, fill in circle **D**

37. Knowledge of Japanese could help me find a job.

38. Japanese is a beautiful language.
39. Japanese is an easy language to learn.
40. I would like to learn Japanese because of its prestige.
41. Japanese is the language to study for people who are going on to college.
42. Japanese people are friendly.
43. Japanese is useful for business.
44. Japanese is useful for world travel.
45. I would like to learn Japanese because of its romance.
46. Japanese is a precise language.
47. I would like to study Japanese for cultural enrichment.
48. There aren't a lot of differences between English and Japanese.
49. Japanese-speaking people are rude.
50. I would like to study Japanese to learn more about Japanese art, history, and literature.
51. I would like to study Japanese to learn more about scientific and technical developments in Japanese-speaking countries.

If you are studying Japanese, please continue. If you are not studying Japanese, skip to the next section.

SECTION F

52. I'm studying Japanese because I enjoy it.
53. I'm studying Japanese because of a good experience I had with another Japanese teacher in the past.
54. I'm studying Japanese because I have friends, family or relatives who speak it.

NOW, PLEASE ANSWER THE REMAINING 14 QUESTIONS ON THE FOLLOWING TWO PAGES.

SECTION G

Which languages are you currently studying? Which class/level are you in?

(1) **Sex:** (Please circle): Male Female

(2) **Age:** _____

(3) **I've studied French/Spanish/Japanese (CIRCLE ONE) for _____ years in: public school/religious school/a foreign country (CIRCLE ONE)**

(4) **I've ALSO studied French/Spanish/Japanese (CIRCLE ONE) for _____ years in: public school/religious school/a foreign country (CIRCLE ONE)**

(5) **Is a language other than English spoken at home?** Which one? ___

(6) **Which statement best describes your father?** Please check one.

- o attended high school
- o graduated from high school
- o attended college
- o graduated from college
- o attended graduate school
- o has a graduate degree

(7) **Which statement best describes your mother?**

- o attended high school
- o graduated from high school
- o attended college
- o graduated from college
- o attended graduate school
- o has a graduate degree

(8) **What is the profession of your father?**

(9) **What is the profession of your mother?**

(10) **Which description best represents your ethnic background?** Please check one.

- o White
- o African American
- o Hispanic
- o Asian
- o American Indian
- o Pacific Islander
- o Alaskan Aleut

(11) **I'm happy that I chose to study Spanish/French/Japanese** (CIRCLE ONE) because …

_____

_____

_____

(12) **I'm unhappy that I chose to study Spanish/French/Japanese (CIRCLE ONE) because …**

_____

_____

_____

(13) **If I could choose again, I would study Spanish/French/Japanese (CIRCLE ONE) because …**

_____

_____

_____

(14) **Which three words do you associate with each of the following languages?**

- Spanish _____ _____ _____
- French _____ _____ _____
- Japanese _____ _____ _____

Part II

Changing Patterns: Student Populations

Do German Students Hold Gender Biases about Their TAs?

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Numerous demographically oriented studies have recognized that a student is not always "just a student" but that personal characteristics such as age, gender, and cultural background can be used to discern real differences among the "faces in a crowd." Indeed, an entire AAUSC volume (Klee 1994) has been dedicated to this issue. The current volume of the AAUSC annual series is dedicated to the topic of changing demographics. This paper directs this focus to a lesser extent toward the student population and to a larger degree toward the teaching staff. The premise is that in the German department under investigation, at the first- and second-year levels an increasingly female staff of teaching assistants (TAs) meets with a still predominantly male student body. As a consequence, gender issues influence classroom interaction quite noticeably.

Specifically, this study examines whether students of German as a Foreign Language at the University of Wisconsin—Madison hold gender-based biases toward their TAs. The investigation is based on a questionnaire in which students had to identify certain TA behaviors and characteristics as either equally typical of both genders or as more typical of male or female TAs.

The impetus for this study came from recurring reports by female TAs at the second-year level that they were experiencing miscommunication or even communicative incompatibility with male students. Subsequent conversations with male and female TAs amplified notions of gender issues playing themselves out in the foreign language classroom.

Recent research (Bacon 1992, Boyle 1987, Ehrman and Oxford 1989, Oxford and Nyikos 1989, and Zoubir-Shaw and Oxford 1994, among others) has investigated gender as it relates to students' behaviors

and perspectives of their own language learning. The role of gender in classroom exchanges has been investigated in the context of (1) bias in textbooks (Macaulay and Brice 1996) and other instructional materials (Durham 1995), (2) female versus male students' experiences in academic discourse (Margolis 1992), (3) the role of student gender in classroom talk control (Swann 1988), and (4) training TAs to avoid biases against students (Lee 1994). Cameron (1995) and Coates and Cameron (1988) focus on female discourse patterns and communication training for women.

By comparison, only a few studies address issues of gender bias with regard to the teacher, i.e., how students perceive and interact with teachers as a consequence of the teacher's gender. Although researchers have attempted to identify teacher roles, behaviors, and beliefs in general (Lalande 1990, Polio and Duff 1994, Scott and Rodgers 1995), the influence of teacher (as opposed to student) gender on student-teacher interaction has been explored only marginally and indirectly. One of the few examples is Young and Milanovic's (1992) article in which the authors make reference to the effects of examiner/candidate gender on discourse in oral proficiency interviews. Finally, some studies (Kern 1995; Kumaravadivelu 1991; McCargar 1993) have considered how students' and teachers' perceptions about language learning differ.

The intersection of student and teacher gender within the foreign language classroom is of particular importance in the field of German in general and the department under investigation in particular. With many lower-level language courses being staffed by graduate student TAs, the faculty of the future, and with the profession attracting ever more females, the University of Wisconsin—Madison has experienced a distinct reversal in the gender distribution of its graduate student teaching staff within the last five years. Whereas in the spring of 1991, 60 percent of TAs were male, by the fall of 1995, nearly 60 percent were female, a number that had even been surpassed during the previous spring semester (68.18 percent). As of the spring of 1994, females have continuously constituted the majority of TAs.

Conversely, more than half (54.4 percent) of students surveyed are male, a typical percentage when compared to other semesters. Various reasons, most of them anecdotal and some quite dubious (e.g., German being a "logical" language), have been given as to why German historically is studied by more male than female learners. A more credible explanation draws a connection between foreign language learning and the students' academic majors. Many students in traditionally male-dominated fields

such as the natural sciences or engineering fulfill the foreign language graduation requirement with German.

Whatever the reason, the fact remains that in German at the University of Wisconsin—Madison an increasingly female teaching staff meets with a predominantly male student body. Although gender distributions within the teaching staff or student body may be different in other German departments or, more generally, in other foreign languages, the question of whether and how gender issues color the students' perceptions of their TA remains a valid one.

Goals

This study investigates the effects of TA gender on students' perceptions of them, where the group of "students" is further differentiated by demographic characteristics. The following research questions are addressed: (1) Do students hold gender biases about their TAs? (2) If such biases exist, which areas of classroom interaction do they affect most? (3) If such biases exist, do they affect student attitudes about male or female TAs or both? (4) Are certain demographic characteristics of students associated more or less with gender bias about TAs?

The ultimate question, however, must be how any existing gender biases should be dealt with. While this issue will be addressed later in this paper, one must already note that this investigation concerns itself only with the existence and nature of such biases, not with their sources. The study elucidates whether and how concerns voiced by the German TAs at the University of Wisconsin—Madison relate to actual perceptions by their students, but it cannot address the larger issue of whether these perceptions constitute accurate observations of classroom interaction or whether they bespeak largely unreflexive bias.

In sum, this study serves two purposes: to investigate and possibly confirm the validity of TAs' concern regarding gender bias by their students, and to determine possible parameters of subsequent studies that would examine the sources of any existing gender bias.

Procedure

At the end of the spring semester of 1995, all TAs teaching first- and second-year German at the University of Wisconsin—Madison were asked

to administer a 50-item questionnaire to their students in addition to, but separate from, the customary end-of-semester instructor surveys (see Appendix). The questionnaire had been pretested in a third-semester class the previous semester and amended on the basis of student responses and comments.

The 50 items covered issues relating to empathy, interactive patterns, instructional foci and practices, and overall appreciation of the TA. Students were asked to rate each item on a scale from one to five. A score of one indicated that the behavior or characteristic described in the item was much more typical of female TAs, while on the other end of the scale, a score of five meant it was much more typical of male TAs. Scores of two and four indicated that females or males, respectively were more likely to have a given characteristic. A score of three indicated gender-neutrality, i.e., that a given feature was equally typical of either gender. The students were told that it was neither good nor bad to assign either gender-neutral or gender-biased scores and to base their responses on their true beliefs. These beliefs could be based either on their own experiences or, in their absence, on intuitive judgments. It should be noted that students were also asked to describe the extent to which they had actually studied with male and female TAs.

In addition to the variables of experience with male and female TAs, four other demographic variables were considered: the gender of the student, the gender of the current TA, the current level of German, and the student's last grade in a German course at the University of Wisconsin—Madison. All but the variables that concern TAs had been previously investigated and shown to yield significant differences with respect to issues such as motivation, curricular preferences, and general beliefs about foreign language learning (Chavez 1994, 1995). All responses were entered onto a computer-readable answer sheet.

One hundred forty-nine subjects responded. All subjects were assured of anonymity. A majority (54.4 percent) of respondents were male and approximately three times as many respondents were taught by a female than by a male TA. The preponderance of female TAs was a result of three factors: (1) as stated before, the majority of TAs were female; (2) female TAs taught some of the very large sections; and (3) female TAs were more likely to administer the questionnaire. The distribution of the remaining variables within the subject pool is shown in Table 1.

Table 1.

Demographic Characteristics Surveyed in Study (N [maximum] = 149)

Demographic Variable		N
1.	Students' last UW-Madison German grade	
	None	62
	A, AB	46
	B, BC	30
	C	9
	D	1
2.	Student experience with male TAs	
	0 male TAs	63
	1 male TA	38
	2 male TAs	17
	3 or more male TAs	31
3.	Student experience with female TAs	
	0 female TAs	17
	1 female TA	49
	2 female TAs	48
	3 or more female TAs	34
4.	Sex of students in study	
	Male	81
	Female	68
5.	Level of course students currently enrolled in	
	First semester	42
	Second semester	48
	Third semester	28
	Fourth semester	31
6.	Students who are taught by a male vs. by a female TA	
	Male	37
	Female	112

Analyses

Student responses were subjected to a two-fold analysis: first considering the total sample population, and then according to each of the six demographic variables. The data were analyzed according to questionnaire item means and the percentage of subjects who responded gender-neutrally per item for the general subject pool. Mean scores were based on the full scale of five possible responses per item. Chi-square tests were performed for each questionnaire item by score (gender neutrality versus bias) and by demographic variable (sub-groups). In the chi-square tests, however, responses were combined to create a scale of three possible responses: more typical of female TAs, gender-neutral, and more typical of male TAs. Three levels of statistical significance were set, and are indicated as follows: * (alpha < .05), ** (alpha < .01), and *** (alpha< .001).

Results

Table 2 shows the mean scores of questionnaire items with extreme means (high and low). The percentage of subjects who assigned neutral scores (scores of 3) on these items is also given. It is important to note that the type of scalar data used for the survey does not allow for any statistically significant conclusions based on the mean scores. However, deviations from neutral scores (scores of 3) may be used to describe tendentential associations between TA gender and the perception of certain TA characteristics.

The general subject population appears to associate female TAs with the following traits: making them feel comfortable in class (questionnaire item 1), being understanding when they experience personal problems (item 3), being concerned with their individual needs (item 6), praising them more frequently (item 14), and encouraging pair work (item 20). By comparison, respondents associate male TAs with the following behaviors and characteristics: intimidating their students (item 8), being humorous in class (item 10), being tolerant of students' jokes (item 11), being likely to make the class challenging (item 24), and being self-confident (item 47).

The images of male and female TAs, as described by the general subject population, appear stereotypical, perhaps even alarmingly so. The qualities ascribed to female instructors reinforce the image of sympathetic and cooperatively oriented nurturer. Male instructors, by contrast, are depicted as bantering, self-assured, and somewhat domineering. It is also worth noting that, with the possible exception of the reference to pair work,

Table 2.

Total Population: Item Extremes

italics = more typical of male TAs **boldface** = more typical of female TAs

Item: Female/MaleTAs of German . . .	Mean	SD	Item rank by mean	Percent of neutral responses	Item rank by neutral responses
are more likely to intimidate learners (item 8)	*3.42*	*.70*	*01*	*52.3*	*50*
are more likely to be humorous in class (item 10)	*3.27*	*.69*	*02*	*61.1*	*44*
are more likely to make the class challenging (item 24)	*3.15*	*.60*	*03*	*72.5*	*26*
are more tolerant of students making jokes in class (item 11)	*3.14*	*.68*	*04*	*64.4*	*42*
have more self-confidence (item 47)	*3.12*	*.48*	*05*	*81.5*	*14*
are more concerned with students' individual needs (item 6)	**2.74**	**.62**	**46**	**67.1**	**38**
praise students more frequently (item 14)	**2.74**	**.62**	**46**	**67.1**	**38**
are more likely to encourage pair work (item 20)	**2.71**	**.71**	**48**	**57.7**	**49**
make me feel more comfortable in class (item 1)	**2.65**	**.83**	**49**	**59.7**	**45**
are more understanding when I have personal problems (item 3)	**2.61**	**.74**	**50**	**58.4**	**48**

gender bias appears to play itself out in the arena of emotions and personal interaction rather than with issues related to specific instructional practices.

Since students' perceptions of male versus female TAs are quite likely to be influenced by their personal experiences and characteristics, further analyses (chi-squares) that examined differences in response patterns according to demographic variables were conducted. They showed a multitude of significant differences that are discussed by demographic variable in the next section.

To appreciate the nature and conclusive relevance of chi-square tests, one must keep in mind that chi-square tests are used to test a null hypothesis that predicts that certain groups (as defined by chosen variables) will show similar response patterns. Statistical analyses can determine whether significantly diverse response patterns exist among groups. One may then describe an association between membership in a certain group and a response pattern that significantly differs from that of another group. However, the assumption of a cause-effect relationship between group membership and the associated response pattern lies beyond the capacity of chi-square tests. Such linkages remain strictly speculative and exploratory in nature.

In the current study, the null hypothesis is that the subgroups of the analysis, e.g., male and female students, first- and second-year students, reported an equal degree of bias (or lack thereof) for each of the questionnaire items.

Significant Differences Associated with Individual Demographic Variables

The six demographic variables were associated with significant within-group differences to varying degrees. Out of 50 items, analyses of responses yielded significant differences for 7 items for the variable *last grade*, 7 for the variable *student experience with male teaching assistants*, 7 for the variable *student experience with female teaching assistants*, 4 for the variable *sex of students in the study*, 3 for the variable *level of course* (first- versus second-year), and 3 for the variable *students being taught by a male vs. by a female teaching assistant*. The variables are discussed in descending order, according to the number of significant differences. For each variable, a table shows significant chi-square results by questionnaire item, with the level of significance reported as * (alpha< .05), ** (alpha < .01), and *** (alpha < .001).

Last Grade

Table 3 reports the 12 significant differences among student subgroups when analyzed in terms of their grade in their last UW—Madison German course. Note that students are grouped in two different ways by their most recent course grade. The discussion that follows clarifies the direction and source of significantly different responses in Table 3 (those indicated with a chi-square statistic) and reflects on the possible connections between last grade response patterns.

Very good students (those with A or AB as their most recent German course grade) assigned more gender-neutral scores than did their less-able classmates (those with a grade of B or lower) on the statement concerning

Table 3.

Significant Differences in Grouped Response Patterns by Last UW-Madison Course Grade

Item: Female/Male TAs of German . . .	Last German Course Grade A/AB/B/BC vs. C/D	Last German Course Grade A/AB vs. B/BC/C/D
make me feel more comfortable in class (item 1)	5.84*	—
are more understanding when I have personal problems (item 3)	9.39**	—
are more concerned with students getting good grades (item 7)	7.05**	—
are more likely to intimidate learners (item 8)	—	5.96*
are more likely to call on male and female students at different rates (item 16)	—	7.23**
are fairer graders (item 42)	8.89**	—
are more likely to make me enjoy studying German (item 44)	—	7.19**
are generally more enjoyable teaching assistants (item 49)	6.25*	—
are the type of teaching assistant I try to sign up with (item 50)	9.07**	—

whether the TA makes students enjoy studying German (item 44). Compared to the more able students, weaker students reported more gender-based attitudes, associating male TAs with making students feel comfortable (item 1) and being understanding when students have personal problems (item 3). Poorer students associated female TAs with concern for students' grades (item 7) and being the type of teaching assistant they try to sign up with (item 50). This last finding, namely that poorer students overall prefer to enroll with female TAs, requires further discussion.

Earlier, we noted that weaker students responded less gender-neutrally to a range of issues and that their gender bias more often attributed particular behaviors and characteristics to male TAs than to female TAs. These associative tendencies concerned issues of classroom management (grading fairly), empathy (making students feel comfortable, being understanding when students have personal problems), and overall enjoyment (making me enjoy studying German, generally being an enjoyable TA). Yet, poorer students indicated that in the absence of gender neutrality (with 50 percent of C and D students assigning gender-neutral scores as opposed to 86.1 percent of A, AB, B, and BC students), they find female (30 percent of respondents) TAs more enjoyable than male ones (20 percent of respondents).

An analysis from yet another angle renders these results less contradictory. To begin with, gender bias was stronger in the group of poorer students but there was a preference for female TAs by both weak and strong students. However, the ratio of preference for female versus male TAs was approximately 4:1 (11.1 percent versus 2.8 percent, respectively) in the group of good students, but only approximately 1.5:1 (30 percent versus 20 percent, respectively) in the group of weaker students. In addition, 27 percent of students who reported a preference to study with a female TA had received a grade of A or AB in their last German course as opposed to 12.2 percent of those who wanted to be taught by a male TA.

In sum, whereas better students generally responded with greater gender neutrality and a greater number of poorer students prefer female over male TAs, weaker students were more than twice as likely to express preference for a male TA. We can assume that the 20 percent of weaker students who would prefer to study with a male TA were among those who had indicated that male TAs were more empathic, more enjoyable, and fairer graders than their female counterparts.

The issue of intimidation (item 8) uncovered quite drastic differences between very good and weaker students. Nearly half (48.7 percent) of A

and AB students found male TAs more intimidating, as opposed to 27.5 percent of B, BC, C, and D students. Conversely, only 1.6 percent of A and AB students perceived female TAs as more intimidating than males, compared to 12.5 percent of B, BC, C, and D students. Thus, whereas gender neutrality on the issue of intimidating is about equally common among very good and weaker students (50 percent and 60 percent respectively), gender bias tends to be reversed between the two groups. Very good students are more likely to find male TAs intimidating, while weaker students associate intimidation with female TAs.

To summarize the findings related to the last course grade, special attention needs to be paid to empathic-emotional factors, which seem to dominate perceptions of the relationship between students, particularly weaker ones, and their TAs. Poorer students consider male TAs more empathic than and less intimidating than female TAs, whereas very good students apparently relate better to female TAs.

One can only speculate on the underlying reasons for these findings. However, the fact that weaker students generally responded much less gender-neutrally may indicate that they place greater emphasis on the connection between the gender of their TA and their success. The further implication that this connection is played out in the emotional domain in particular, could reflect at least a faint resentment of female TAs, as well as of the personal characteristics attributed to them, on the part of the weaker students. The numbers shown in Table 4 add an interesting dimension. They show that the majority of poorer students in the study were male, which naturally raises the question of whether the TA who gave the low grade was male or female.

Finally, the finding that half of the very good students feel intimidated by male TAs requires further examination of gendered emotional issues as well as communication strategies between instructors and students.

Table 4.

Last UW—Madison German Course Grade by Gender

Grade	Male Students	Female Students
A, AB	23	23
B, BC	18	12
C	8	1
D	1	0

Student Experience with Male TAs

Table 5 shows the relationship between students' experience with male TAs and the perceptions they have of them. It is followed by a discussion of how the response patterns of the different demographic groups vary and how these differences may indicate general attitudes of the particular groups.

Depending on the number of male TAs a student has had, responses may significantly differ in one of the following ways: (1) experience with male TAs may be associated with greater gender bias; (2) experience with a male TA may be associated with less gender bias; (3) experience with a male TA may be associated with a pattern of bias opposite to that of students who have studied only with female TAs. Specifically, students who had studied with a male TA were more gender-neutral on two issues than those who had not: being better prepared and more organized (item 46), and being concerned with students getting good grades (item 7). On both

Table 5.

Significant Differences in Grouped Response Patterns by Experience with Male TAs

Item: Female/Male TAs of German . . .	1 or More Male TA(s) vs. No Male TA	0 vs. 1 vs. 2. vs. 3+ Male TAs
are more concerned with students getting good grades (item 7)	7.99**	—
are more tolerant of students making jokes in class (item 11)	—	15.98**
call on students more frequently (item 13)	6.40*	—
criticize students more frequently (item 15)	—	12.25**
spend more time discussing cultural issues (item 31)	—	14.63**
focus more on how to write German (item 34)	—	13.40**
are better organized and prepared (item 46)	5.39*	—

of these issues, students who had experienced at least one male TA differed from those who had not, in that the former group responded with greater gender neutrality while the latter group associated these characteristics with female TAs. With regard to the TA being organized and prepared (item 46), students who had been taught by a male TA assigned these scores: 80.9 percent neutral (as opposed to 79.2 percent for students who had never studied with a male TA); 9.5 percent each associated this trait with male or female TAs (as opposed to 22.6 percent who associated it more strongly with female TAs). In response to the item about TAs' concern for students' getting good grades (item 7), 27.1 percent of students who had never experienced a male TA believed that females were more concerned, whereas 4 percent of that group believed that male TAs were more concerned. Only 10.9 percent of students who had been exposed to a male TA associated a concern for good grades with female TAs, compared to the 12.9 percent who associated this trait with male TAs.

Students who had been taught by a male TA responded with diminished gender neutrality in comparison with their peers who had never experienced a male TA on the issues of calling on students more frequently (item 13). The pattern of bias is opposite in the two subgroups: only 1.3 percent of students who had never studied with a male TA thought that male TAs would call on students more frequently, as compared to 12.8 percent of students who had direct experience with a male TA.

In general terms, students who had never been taught by a male TA believe the following: that female TAs are better prepared and more organized (item 46); that female TAs are more likely to be concerned with their students' grades (item 7); and that female TAs are more likely to call on students frequently (item 13). In contrast, students who have studied with at least one male TA do not believe that female TAs are more likely to have these characteristics. Thus, these beliefs, which present female TAs in a positive light in comparison to males, are held only by students who have never studied with a male TA.

Additionally, the more male TAs students had studied with, the more likely they were to believe that female TAs are more likely to discuss cultural issues (item 31) (reaching 52.9 percent at the level of having studied with two male TAs), and that male TAs are more likely to stress writing German (item 34) (reaching 29.4 percent at the level of having studied with two male TAs).

Students who had experienced three or more male TAs were less likely to associate female TAs with better organization and preparedness, but also

were much less likely to associate male TAs with concern for their students' grades (3.2 percent only). For many students, having experienced three or more male TAs meant never having had a female TA in the entire UW—Madison German language sequence. Given the fact that the majority of TAs are female, this circumstance is probably not the result of coincidence but of choice. In other words, students who had had three or more male TAs most likely had sought them out, presumably because of particularly positive feelings toward them.[1] Consequently, they may be less strongly convinced that female TAs spend more time discussing culture. To some extent, the finding that this group of students was also less inclined to associate male TAs with writing, may indicate that writing is of lesser importance to these students.

Student Experience with Female TAs

Table 6 shows the relationship between students' experience with female TAs and the perceptions they have of them. As for the previous variable, the table is followed by a discussion of how exactly the response patterns of the different demographic groups vary and speculation about the larger issues these differences may reflect.

On the issue of the accessibility of TAs outside of class (item 4), students who had studied with at least one female TA responded more gender-neutrally than students who had studied exclusively with male TAs (93.9 percent and 82.9 percent, respectively). Of those who were not gender-neutral on the topic, 13.4 percent of students who had never been taught by a female TA thought that female TAs would be more accessible outside of class, as compared to 7.3 percent who considered male TAs more accessible. In contrast, only 1.5 percent of students who had experienced a female TA thought that female TAs were more accessible, compared to 4.6 percent who believed male TAs to be more accessible.

One possible implication of these results is that students with a male TA may have found their instructor not accessible enough. Putting their dissatisfaction within a gender context, they may have hypothesized that a female TA would be more accessible outside of class. Students who have experienced a female TA, on the other hand, may have realized that accessibility outside of class is not an issue related to gender.

Among students who had never studied with a female TA, 20.7 percent believed that female TAs would be more concerned with students' getting good grades (item 7), compared to only 4.9 percent who associated

Table 6.

Significant Differences in Grouped Response Patterns by Experience with Female TAs

Item: Female/Male TAs of German . . .	1 or More Female TA(s) vs. No Female TA	0 vs. 1 vs. 2. vs. 3+ Female TAs
are more accessible outside of class (office hours; before and after class) (item 4)	6.69*	—
are more concerned with students getting good grades (item 7)	7.33*	15.08*
are more likely to call on male and female students at different rates (item 16)	—	23.99**
are more likely to praise female and male students at different rates (item 17)	—	41.59**
are more likely to criticize male and female students at different rates (item 18)	—	17.83**
are more likely to encourage pair work (item 20)	6.72**	7.54**
are more concerned about students being grammatically accurate (item 25)	—	17.46**

this behavior more with male TAs. In contrast, 10.6 percent of students who had studied with a female TA associated this characteristic more with female TAs, compared to 16.7 percent of this group who associated the characteristic with male TAs. One can make the same speculation as above, i.e., that the belief that females are more "student-friendly" is held more by students who have not studied with a female TA than by those who have.

Associations between the gender of the TA and the encouragement of pair work (item 20) are also different depending on whether the respondents have studied with a female TA or not. Of students who have not had a female TA, 23.5 percent considered the encouragement of pair work more typical of male TAs. This most likely reflects the widespread use of cooperative learning in our curriculum. In this same group, only 11.8 percent imagined that female TAs were more likely to encourage pair work.

On the other hand, of students who had experienced a female TA, only 6.8 percent associated the behavior more with male TAs, compared to 35.9 percent who associated it more with females.

In sum, students who have never experienced a female TA tend to think of them as more accessible outside of class, more concerned with student achievement, and less likely to encourage pair work, as compared with their male peers. Students who have studied with a female TA, on the other hand, reported the belief that accessibility outside of class is independent of gender, that male TAs pay more attention to student grades than do their female counterparts, and that female TAs encourage pair work more than male TAs.

In addition to these findings, significant differences in response patterns were observed among groups that had studied with more than one female TA. The topic of equitable treatment of male and female students is a case in point. Students who had experienced at least two female TAs tended to think that female TAs were more likely to call on male and female students equally (item 16). The same groups indicated the belief that female TAs are more equitable in their praise of male and female students (17). In contrast, the belief that female TAs are more likely to criticize male and female students equally (item 18) manifested itself only among students who had studied with at least three female TAs.

As discussed earlier, the causes of biases in favor of a particular TA gender that emerge only at a certain threshold (i.e., after having experienced a certain number of TAs of this particular gender) must be questioned. One explanation is that students initially are unbiased but after a certain amount of exposure begin to interpret some traits as gender-specific. The other is that students are biased to begin with, at least on certain issues, and then continue to select a TA of the gender in whose favor they hold those biases. In other words, one may ask: Does increased exposure to TAs of the same gender produce bias or is it a reflection thereof?

Finally, one must consider that female TAs outnumber males in the German Department at the University of Wisconsin—Madison. Consequently, it requires more effort on part of a student to sign up repeatedly with a male than with a female TA. Thus, the assumption that increased exposure to TAs of the same sex is a reflection (rather than a cause) of gender bias may be slightly more applicable to students who have experienced a high number of male TAs and less applicable to those who have been repeatedly taught by female TAs.

Table 7.

Significant Differences in Grouped Response Patterns by Gender of Student

Item: Female/Male TAs of German . . .	Male vs. Female Students
make me feel more comfortable in class (item 1)	7.36**
are more likely to be humorous in class (item 10)	6.82*
are more likely to speak themselves (as opposed to letting students speak) in class (item 19)	6.56**
are better organized and prepared (item 46)	7.92**

Student Gender

Table 7 shows the relationship between students' gender and the perceptions they have of TAs based on the gender of the TA. The table is followed by a more detailed exploration of response patterns and of possible underlying causes.

Although students of both sexes considered the ability to make students feel more comfortable in class (item 1) more typical of female TAs than of male TAs, female students reported stronger bias in this direction: 35.3 percent of female students thought that female TAs were more likely to make them feel comfortable in class, as compared to the 29.6 percent of male students who held this opinion. On the other hand, 13.6 percent of male students reported the perception that male TAs were more likely to make them feel comfortable, as compared to only 1.5 percent of female students. In sum, students of both sexes clearly tended to favor female TAs on this issue of empathy, with female students expressing this trend more strongly.

The one issue that students of both sexes (32 percent of male students and 30.9 percent of female students) associated primarily with male TAs was the use of humor in class (item 10). Overall, female students were more neutral on the issue (67.7 percent as opposed to 55.6 percent of male students) and were even less likely to consider the use of humor in class characteristic of female TAs (1.5 percent as opposed to 12.4 percent of male students).

It appears that students of both sexes relate more strongly to the use of humor by male TAs, with the trend more pronounced in female students than in male students. A possible explanation may be that female students are less likely to look for humor in classroom interaction. At any rate, given their stronger association of female TAs with empathic skills, female students do not appear to be disturbed by the perceived lack of humor displayed by female TAs.

Students always associated better organization and preparedness (item 46) with TAs of their own sex. Again, female students followed this trend more pronouncedly and with less gender neutrality. Thus, 22.3 percent of female students thought that female TAs were better organized and prepared, compared to the 11.4 percent of male students who responded that better organization and preparedness is more typical of male TAs. Conversely, only 3 percent of female students replied that male TAs were better prepared, while 8.9 percent of male students indicated that this trait was more typical of female TAs.

One may speculate on the basis of these associations that students look for certain behaviors when judging their TAs' level of preparedness and organization. Furthermore, students' judgments of or ability to discover these behaviors may be gender-specific, i.e., better attuned to behaviors typical of their own sex. If this is true, female students appear more strongly oriented toward behaviors of their own sex than do their male peers.

Finally, students generally identified one trait as typical of the sex opposite to their own: speaking in class to the exclusion of student participation (item 19). Female students expressed this opinion more strongly than male students, perhaps indicating that female students experience problems, whether real or perceived, in taking or keeping the floor vis-à-vis their male TAs.

In sum, we have seen significantly different responses from male and female students on the following issues: making students feel comfortable in class (item 1); the use of humor (item 10); better organization and preparedness (item 46); domination of the speaking floor (item 19). Female and male students both associated female TAs with making the student feel comfortable and male TAs with the use of humor in class (item 10). However, the sexes diverged on the issues of better organization and preparedness (item 46) and the domination of the speaking floor (item 19). In both cases, they associated behaviors more strongly with their own gender, i.e., male students thought that male TAs were more likely to be well prepared and that female TAs were less likely to surrender the speaking floor, and female students thought the opposite.

In some respects the most startling finding may have been that female students' biases tend to be stronger, i.e., gender-neutral scores were consistently lower in the female student population. Overall, female students appear to experience more difficulties in relating to male TAs than do male students in relating to either male or female TAs. Large percentages of female students indicated that female TAs are more likely to make them feel comfortable in class, to surrender the speaking floor to the students, and to be better prepared and organized. The underlying causes for these perceptions certainly deserve further research.

Level of Enrollment

Table 8 shows the relationship between students' level of study and their perceptions of gender-based behaviors of their TAs. The data are presented two ways, by semester of study and by year of study. The table is followed by a discussion of significant differences in grouped response patterns and of possible explanations for these response patterns. Finally, these explanations are qualified by the fact that the variable of level of enrollment intersects with additional variables such as student age and language learning experience.

First-year students responded more gender-neutrally than second-year students in only one out of the three items that showed significant differences between the two groups. At issue was the accessibility of TAs outside

Table 8.

Significant Differences in Grouped Response Patterns by Level of Enrollment

Item: Female/Male TAs of German . . .	Sem. 1 vs. Sem. 2 vs. Sem. 3 vs. Sem. 4	First Year vs. Second Year
are more accessible outside of class (office hours; before and after class) (item 4)	–	6.86*
are more likely to call on male and female students at different rates (item 16)	–	7.71**
are more likely to make the class challenging (item 24)	16.90**	4.64**

of class (item 4), on which topic 92.2 percent of first-year students found male and female TAs to be equally accessible, as opposed to 85.7 percent of second-year students. Non-gender-neutral scores assigned by first-year students divided themselves quite equally between female (3.3 percent) and male (4.4 percent) TAs. By comparison, second-year students who responded with a gender bias did so at a ratio of approximately 5:1 (15.3 percent versus 3.4 percent) in associating accessibility outside of class with female TAs.

The two issues on which first-year students responded with less gender neutrality than their second-year peers were calling on male and female students with equal frequency (item 16) and making the class challenging (item 24). On the first issue, which concerns the equitable treatment of male and female students, first-year students appeared to associate the behavior more strongly with female TAs than with male TAs. Second-year students showed no gender bias on the issue of calling on male and female students equitably.

On the issue of making the class challenging (item 24), both groups of respondents associated the trait more with male TAs (18.9 percent for first-year students; 22 percent for second-year students) than with female TAs. First-year students' overall greater gender bias resulted from the fact that 11.1 percent of them indicated that female TAs are more likely to make the class challenging, a response duplicated by only 1.7 percent of second-year students.

An interpretation of these results must consider several possible factors. One possibility is that greater sensitivity to gender issues is a consequence of experience with the language and the language program, i.e., second-year students' greater ability to describe classroom discourse. However, at least three other issues may dilute the strength of such an interpretation: (1) Almost half of second-year students enter the program from the outside (mostly directly from high school). Thus, while in general terms, the second-year group contains individuals with the greatest experience within the program, it does not comprise a homogeneous group. As a matter of fact, some of the second-semester students are more familiar with the program than are some of their third-semester peers. (2) Second-year students as a group are older than their first-year peers. Perhaps older students hold less gender bias. (3) Curricular differences between the years of study may increase or reduce the opportunity for actual or perceived behavioral differences between male and female TAs.

Table 9.

Significant Differences in Grouped Response Patterns by Gender of Current TA

Item: Female/Male TAs of German . . .	Current TA Male vs. Current TA Female
are more accessible outside of class (office hours; before and after class) (item 4)	6.15*
are more likely to encourage pair work (item 20)	24.05**
are more likely to encourage group (3 or more participants) work (item 21)	16.36**

Gender of the Current Teaching Assistant

Table 9 shows the relationship between the gender of the respondents' current TA and gender-based perceptions of TAs in general. Again, the table is followed by a more thorough look at the response patterns and their possible causes.

Generally, students tended to associate the encouragement of pair and group work (items 20, 21) with TAs of the sex of their current TA. Students with a female TA were more likely to associate these behaviors with TAs of the sex of their current one than were their peers with a male TA. Specifically, 42 percent of students with a female TA associated pair work (item 20) with female TAs and 34.8 percent associated group work (item 21) with female TAs. By comparison, 24.3 percent of students with a male TA associated pair work with male TAs and 27 percent associated with group work with male TAs.

In sum, it appears that students with a female TA place somewhat greater emphasis on the TA's gender than do students with a male TA. This circumstance at least faintly echoes the previous finding that female students as a group display greater bias than do male students. Furthermore, based on the reported percentages, female students appear to be more inclined to associate certain traits with female TAs than male students are to associate the same traits with male TAs. Thus, being female and/or being taught by a female may magnify biases to a greater extent than being male and/or being taught by a male. The underlying reasons require and deserve further investigation.

One issue, namely the accessibility outside of class, was associated with TAs of the gender opposite to that of the current one, i.e., 10.2 percent of students with a female TA responded that male TAs are more accessible outside of class, as opposed to 5.4 percent who associated this trait with female TAs, whereas 8.9 percent of students with a female TA indicated that female TAs are more accessible, compared with 1.8 percent who thought male TAs were.

This finding resonates with the previously described belief that the current TA is (or that previous TAs of a particular gender are) not as available outside of class as students would like. Denying the possibility that the current level of accessibility is common, students may associate their dissatisfaction with a particular TA gender and further assume that TAs of the opposite gender must behave differently, i.e., be more accessible.

Summary and Conclusion

We first synthesize a selection of findings and then review implications for program supervision and remaining questions that need to be investigated in future studies.

1. It has been shown that students of German at the University of Wisconsin—Madison do indeed hold gender-based biases about their TAs. Moreover, when looking at the entire sample population, these biases appear to follow stereotypical patterns. Female TAs are associated more strongly with empathic issues and the use of cooperative learning techniques (e.g., pair work). Male TAs are viewed as open to the use of humor (by both teacher and students), self-confident if also intimidating, and more likely to make the class challenging.
2. Among demographic variables, the following features tend to yield statistically significant differences in bias: the last grade in a German course at the University of Wisconsin—Madison, the number of male TAs a student had experienced, the number of female TAs a student had experienced, the gender of the student, the level of enrollment, and the gender of the student's current TA.

   It must be noted that the 50 items under investigation in the current study do not represent all possible issues on which gender bias may occur. The distribution of significant findings by demographic variable might differ if other areas were investigated.
3. As far as the degree of bias is concerned, we have identified certain

demographic groups that tend toward greater and lesser gender neutrality.

- Good students appear more gender-neutral than weaker students, whereby better students gravitate toward female TAs and poorer students toward male TAs. These differences play themselves out primarily in the domain of emotions and empathy.
- Female students seemed to hold stronger biases (mostly in favor of female TAs) than did their male counterparts. Similarly, currently being taught by a female TA was associated with greater degrees of bias than currently having a male TA.
- Students in the first year tend to hold greater gender biases than their second-year peers. Although it is tempting to link the variables of level of enrollment (year) and age, there may be only a superficial connection. Other circumstances, such as the need to adapt to the pedagogy of a foreign language program and initial contact with the target language and culture, may well come into play when examining differences between first- and second-year students.
- The demographic variable of student age was also examined, although not reported on here. The subjects were divided into three age groups: younger than 23 (traditional college age), 23–34, and 35 and older. The oldest age group (35 and older) consisted of only 3 subjects so that an analysis by age did not seem meaningful. Interestingly enough, the oldest group responded 100 percent gender-neutrally on all 50 items. The role of student age with regard to gender bias thus holds promise for further research, perhaps with a subject population in which older students are more prevalent.

4. Common demographically derived gender biases about male TAs include the following:
   - Weaker students tended to favor male TAs in terms of making them feel more comfortable in class, understanding when they have personal problems, grading fairly, and being the type of TA they want to sign up with. In sum, weaker students appear to establish a strong empathic connection with male TAs. The opposite seems to be true for better (A, AB) students, of whom nearly half (47.8 percent) found male TAs intimidating.

- Students who had never been taught by a male TA tended to associate the following behaviors with female TAs: being prepared and organized; generally calling on students often; and being concerned with the students' grades. Students who have been exposed to a male TA associate all of the above traits more strongly with male TAs.
- Students of both genders, with the trend more pronounced in female students, considered male TAs more likely to use or tolerate humor in class. A large percentage (30.9 percent) of female students felt that male TAs dominated the speaking floor to the exclusion of students.
- Both first- and second-year students indicated that male TAs were more likely to make the class challenging.

In sum, the following characteristics were recurrently associated with male TAs: criticizing female and male students equally (while the data at hand do not directly allow for this conclusion, one may speculate that female TAs are sometimes suspected of timidity in criticizing female students); making the class challenging and/or being concerned with students' grades; being more self-confident; incorporating humor; and dominating the speaking floor. These findings fit quite well with the initial perceptions of male TAs that emerged in the responses of the general subject pool. As described earlier, traits that would indicate gender biases in the area of empathy and personal relations, in general, have been associated with female TAs. However, the group of weaker students held distinctly different biases in these areas. On an interpersonal level, they related much better to male TAs.

5. Common demographically-derived gender biases about female TAs include the following:
   - On an interpersonal level, very good students (A, AB) related to female TAs much better than to their male counterparts. They also felt less intimidated by female TAs and expressed a desire to sign up with them.
   - The more female TAs a student had had, the more likely this learner was to associate pair work with female TAs. Increased exposure to female TAs also tended to contribute to the belief that female TAs are more likely to call on and praise male and female students equally. This perception is shared by first-year students as

a group, even though they are less likely than second-year students to have experienced more than one female TA.

- Students of both genders agreed that female TAs are more likely to make them feel comfortable in class and encourage pair work. These biases were generally stronger in the female subject population.
- Male students were more likely to perceive female TAs as dominating the speaking floor. This bias was opposite to that of female students. In general, students of both genders tended to view TAs of the opposite sex as reluctant to relinquish the floor. Perhaps male and female TAs modeled different, gendered discourse patterns. Students of the TAs' sex would have been more likely to share these patterns in their own discourse repertoires and may hence have been more successful in participating in discursive exchanges. Similarly, students tended to describe TAs of their own sex as more organized and prepared. One may speculate that in their judgment of these features, students applied gender-marked criteria. For example, male and female patterns of organized presentation and coherent or cohesive discourse may differ. Also, the extent to which characteristics such as spontaneity and flexibility are seen as assets or liabilities may vary between males and females.

In sum, the evaluation of discourse structures (turn-taking, keeping the floor) and organization and preparedness may follow gender-specific criteria that render learners more attuned to and consequently more appreciative of TAs of their own gender.

If these assumptions are true, then females appear less adaptable to male discourse patterns than vice versa. They noted more strongly that TAs of the opposite sex keep the floor too long and that TAs of the same sex are more prepared and organized.

6. Finally, we review several phenomena that manifest themselves in the form of gender biases but that quite possibly stem from unrealistic expectations of the TA. Students may fail to view classroom situations that they consider dissatisfying as a reflection of real and quite unalterable constraints. Instead students may transfer their perceptions of instructional shortcomings to the realm of (TA) gender.

One such issue is the TA's accessibility outside of class. Students, as a trend, perceived TAs of the gender opposite to that of their current TA as more accessible outside of class. Moreover, students who

had never been exposed to a female TA responded that they were more accessible than their male peers. In view of the apparent lack of experience, one must question on what students base the belief that a TA of the sex opposite to the current one would be more accessible. Quite possibly, students are dissatisfied with the degree of accessibility they have experienced in their TAs and translate these concerns into gender issues.

Similarly, one must wonder what leads students who have never been exposed to a TA of a particular gender to attribute characteristics and classroom behaviors to TAs of that gender. A likely assumption is that students are dissatisfied with their current TA and, unwilling to ascribe what they are experiencing to common practice, interpret it as an issue of TA gender.

Further Questions

The current study has opened numerous questions that might be addressed in future research. These are explored in the following concluding section.

1. Foremost, it is necessary to underscore again that the chi-square tests applied in this study reveal relationships of an associative rather than a causal nature. Hence, we cannot conclude that the demographic variables that have been examined caused any of the observed instances of gender bias. Although the previous discussion has speculated on possible causes for some of the findings, further research is needed to investigate the causes of the relationships that the analyses presented here have uncovered.

2. Understanding our students' perceptions of the classroom and the teacher is certainly important. It helps us prepare our TAs better in various ways: (1) We can validate their observations of gender bias about them. (2) We may guide them in identifying which students are more likely to hold gender biases and the shapes that these biases may take. (3) We can aid them in identifying instances of miscommunication as gender-based, when appropriate.

   However, before we can recommend any changes in behavior on the part of the students or teachers, we must explore more deeply the causes of the gender bias, realizing that the academic experiences and demographic features of the students may account for only part of the

picture. We must now progress to actual observations and analyses (videotaping, transcripts, interviews, etc.) of classroom behavior, ideally on a longitudinal basis. Until such studies have been completed, we cannot separate truly biased perceptions by the students from accurate reports of actual interactive patterns and TA behaviors. Our subsequent tasks as program coordinators would differ, depending on whether we are supposed to "mend inaccurate perceptions" on the part of the students, address inequitable or otherwise pedagogically inadvisable behaviors by TAs, or train students and TAs to use and appreciate a variety of interactive and discourse patterns.

3. Although we have seen that certain demographic variables are more likely to yield subgroups with widely different biases than others, we have yet to determine how the interplay of these variables affects bias. Most important, we must still resolve how to deal with instructional settings in which certain demographic variables are concentrated, e.g., class sections in which the students of a single gender constitute a distinct majority. The gender balance among the students themselves may affect how they relate to an instructor of either gender.
4. The question of how variables intersect extends beyond the students to instructors themselves. Specific issues include:
   - Do native-speaker status and/or the perception of gender roles within the target culture combine to yield varied patterns of bias? For example, if in the target culture, whether in reality or in the view of the learners, certain gender roles are prescribed, will students be more likely to transfer these onto native-speaker than to non-native-speaker teachers? Or will students view their native and non-native teachers as equally bound by gender roles in the target culture? Or, yet, will students draw on their own culturally conditioned beliefs about gender roles and use them in their judgment of the target language culture, and its representative, the TA? Durham (1995), for example, discusses how American students of French apply an ethnocentric (i.e., American) reading to Capretz's *French in Action* (1994).
   - Does professional status influence the perception of gender roles? In other words, do the patterns of gender bias observed for TAs hold true for members of the faculty also, and if so, in all demographic student groups? Are certain types of students more willing to relinquish gender-biased attitudes toward faculty than others?

Can faculty status deflect gender bias partially or even totally? Reports such as the one by Sandler (1993) imply it cannot, at least in general terms. However, there may be different degrees of bias directed at members of the faculty than at TAs.

- Is gender bias totally or partially dependent on the age of the individual about whom the bias is held? We have observed that older students tend to be more gender-neutral. The question now asks whether this observation works both ways, i.e., whether students are less likely to perceive older teachers (TAs or faculty) according to gendered preconceptions. Job market conditions and family responsibilities, among other factors, have led to an older cohort group of TAs in the Department of German at the University of Wisconsin—Madison. The question of the impact of the age of the TA on students' perception is, consequently, of greater interest that it might have been in the past.
- Finally, it would be interesting to investigate how and to what extent different personal characteristics contribute to the perceptions that students have of their teachers. To which of any number of features (gender, age, status, nationality, etc.) do students respond most, to which least, and in which ways?

In sum, this paper has attempted to expand the notion of changing demographics to the other side of the classroom discourse equation, the teacher. Although the demographically based analyses of students' responses allow for at least a limited prediction of how changes in the student population may affect students' gender biases, the focus was on the teacher. Conceding that the findings can be related directly only to the sample population and that the 50 items in the questionnaire hardly represent an all inclusive inventory of classroom issues, it has been shown that there are indeed associations between TAs' gender and students' perceptions.

The demographics of our teaching staff are changing: more females enter the profession, the average graduate student is getting older and/or remains a TA longer, and lower-level language classes are increasingly taught by graduate students or non-tenure track staff. Hence, research must address how various teacher characteristics affect classroom interaction. This study should be seen as an initial contribution to the more extensive investigative efforts that are necessary to define these issues more closely.[2]

Notes

1. Although students register long before the assignment of TAs to sections is made, there are numerous cases each semester of students who change sections to study with a particular TA.
2. The author wishes to acknowledge the invaluable support of the UW—Madison's Center for Testing and Evaluation, particularly its director Al Cohen and statistician Christine Malecki. Without their assistance, this paper would not have been possible. She would also like to express her most sincere thanks to Judith Liskin-Gasparro, the editor of this volume, and Sally Sieloff Magnan, the series editor, who spent numerous hours in assisting the author in improving this paper.

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APPENDIX

The Questionnaire

Identify yourself only according to these categories:

A. I am 0=male 1=female

B. My current teaching assistant is 0=male 1=female

C. I have had # (mark below) male *teaching assistants.*

0=0 1=1 2=2 3=3 or more

D. I have had # (mark below) female *teaching assistants.*

0=0 1=1 2=2 3=3 or more

E. Currently, I am enrolled in German...

0=101 1=102 2=203 3=204

F. My age is... 0=23 or younger

1=24–34 2=35 or older

G. My last *course* grade in German at UW was...

0=none 1=A,AB 2=B,BC 3=C 4=D

Please use the following scale for each item:

1	2	3	4	5
females much more	females slightly more	no difference	males slightly more	males much more

Female/Male teaching assistants of German ...

1. ...make me feel more comfortable in class.
2. ...are more understanding when I have problems with German.
3. ...are more understanding when I have personal problems.
4. ...are more accessible outside of class (office hours; before and after class).
5. ...are more willing to deviate from a schedule or plan.
6. ...are more concerned with students' individual needs.

7. ...are more concerned with students getting good grades.
8. ...are more likely to intimidate learners.
9. ...act more enthusiastic in class.
10. ...are more likely to be humorous in class.
11. ...are more tolerant of students making jokes in class.
12. ...are more concerned with controlling students' behavior in the classroom.
13. ... call on students more frequently.
14. ...praise students more frequently.
15. ...criticize students more frequently.
16. ...are more likely to call on female and male students at different rates.
17. ...are more likely to praise female and male students at different rates.
18. ...are more likely to criticize female and male students at different rates.
19. ....are more likely to speak more themselves (as opposed to letting students speak) in class.
20. ...are more likely to encourage pair work.
21. ...are more likely to encourage group (3 or more participants) work.
22. ...are more likely to welcome students' comments and questions in class.
23. ...give more homework.
24. ...are more likely to make the class challenging
25. ...are more concerned about students being grammatically accurate.
26. ...are more concerned about students learning and using many new words.
27. ...are more concerned about students learning and using many new grammatical forms.
28. ...are more concerned about students being fluent, i.e., that they speak or write at a good speed.
29. ...explain grammar in more detail.
30. ...explain grammar more clearly and understandably.

31. ...spend more time discussing cultural issues.
32. ... are more concerned with correct pronunciation and intonation.
33. ...focus more on how to speak German.
34. ...focus more on how to write German.
35 ...focus more on how to read German.
36. ...focus more on how to listen to German.
37. ...use more visual aids (pictures, overhead, chalkboard).
38. ...show more videos and play more tapes and CDs.
39. ...are more likely to use texts from real German magazines and books.
40. ...are more likely to use games and unusual teaching tools or methods.
41. ...are stricter graders.
42. ...are fairer graders.
43. ... are more likely to make me feel successful in German.
44. ...are more likely to make me enjoy studying German.
45. ...have a better grasp of German themselves.
46. ... are better organized and prepared.
47. ... have more self-confidence.
48. ...are generally more effective language teachers.
49. ...are generally more enjoyable language teachers.
50. ...are the type of teaching assistant I try to sign up with.

Teaching Chinese to the Chinese: The Development of an Assessment and Instructional Model

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In the 1990s, the purpose of Chinese language instruction at the university level is no longer restricted to training the next generation of Tang poetry experts and Qing historians. Instead, we increasingly find ourselves in the business of heritage language preservation and enhancement. It is ever more the case in collegiate Chinese language programs throughout the United States—and not just in major metropolitan areas or at large universities—that the predominant audience in Chinese language classrooms is not monolingual native speakers of English, but bilingual speakers of English and some form of Chinese, Mandarin, or otherwise. The result is that many of us find ourselves in the somewhat paradoxical and often even awkward position of teaching Chinese to the Chinese.

In the discussion presented here, a three-stage process is outlined as a means of best meeting the needs of a Chinese heritage speaker population: (1) initial adjustment of an existing curriculum through the use of test-derived skill levels for placement within each level of the curriculum; (2) establishment of new courses based on a needs analysis that responds to the unique strengths and weaknesses of heritage speakers; and (3) continuing enhancement of the program, integrating more globally oriented metrics on a continuing basis, with ultimate implications for long-term curriculum development.

The data presented here are drawn exclusively from the author's experience at his home institution, and are relatively modest in quantitative terms. However, the trends and tendencies represented herein are seen throughout the United States at this time, in particular at colleges and

universities in California and on the east coast. Thus while conceding that the audience's local conditions may vary, the global conditions are relevant to all, for both the Chinese specialist and those of other languages with their own particular heritage speaker challenges, such as Spanish (see Teschner 1990; Galindo 1992).

Assessment Instruments

Administration of a standardized examination to all students within an existing program is critical to developing an objective understanding of one's student population. There are a number of well-developed metrics available for assessment of receptive skills in Chinese, as outlined below. The structure of each of these tests is built around three broad areas: (1) listening comprehension; (2) grammatical knowledge; and (3) reading ability.

All three of the examinations in Table 1 were developed by professional testing experts. In addition, both the Chinese Proficiency Test (CPT) and Pre-CPT have been nationally normed within the United States. The principal drawback for all three is their relatively high price: no less than $15 and as much as $35 per examinee, depending on the total number of students at a test site. An additional difficulty with the Hanyu

Table 1.

Commercially Available Chinese Proficiency Tests

Test name	Publisher	Target levels
Chinese Proficiency Test (CPT)	Center for Applied Linguistics	All
Pre-Chinese Proficiency Test (Pre-CPT)	Center for Applied Linguistics	Elementary to intermediate
Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi (HSK)	Chinese State Education Commission and Beijing Foreign Languages Institute	Intermediate to advanced

Shuiping Kaoshi (HSK) is that the administration schedule is very tightly controlled by the State Education Commission of the People's Republic of China.

The alternative to nationally or internationally standardized tests is a locally created one, such as the Chinese Placement and Proficiency Test (CPPT) originally designed by the author for use at the University of Oregon and now being used at the University of Maryland. The CPPT is based largely on the models of the Pre-CPT/CPT and HSK, with test content drawn from both the *Practical Chinese Reader* textbook series and a variety of authentic materials.[1] The CPPT contains listening comprehension, grammatical structure, and reading comprehension sections in a multiple-choice format. It can be administered within a typical class period of 50 minutes; students with particularly high proficiency levels can complete the examination within a half hour.

All of the tests mentioned here focus on receptive skills only. However, if a particular institution has the resources, any test can be supplemented by an oral interview with predetermined format and/or writing tasks to provide a more comprehensive student assessment. The point is that some sort of consistent testing mechanism, appropriate for and administered to all students within a given program, is the initial step necessary for curricular assessment.

Stage 1: Initial Adjustment

When the CPPT was first administered at the University of Maryland at the beginning of the 1993–94 academic year, some very clear patterns regarding the proficiency levels of students in the Chinese language program became immediately apparent. Table 2 details a section of the results from that first test administration, specifically the mean scores and standard deviations for three categories of students: non-heritage second-year students; heritage second-year students; and non-heritage third- and fourth-year students. At this stage in the process, the term "heritage" was used to indicate a student with home background in any dialect of Chinese, be it Mandarin or non-Mandarin.[2]

The most noteworthy result of that first test administration was the confirmation of the lack of fit between the skill level of heritage speakers and their course placement. Heritage students in the second-year course demonstrated higher overall language competency in listening

Table 2.

CPPT Results by University of Maryland Students, 1993[a]

Student Category	Listening Mean/SD (T=22)	Grammar Mean/SD (T=15)	Reading Mean/SD (T=20)	Total (T=57)
First-Year Heritage (N=5)	18.8/1.6	14.8/0.5	17.2/2.6	50.8/3.9
Second-Year Non-Heritage (N=6)	13.3/2.1	5.8/3.1	10.0/1.8	29.2/3.2
Second-Year Heritage (N=6)	18.0/2.2	12.0/2.7	16.1/1.8	46.2/5.6
Third- and Fourth-Year Non-Heritage (N=8)	13.4/3.0	10.8/1.5	13.8/3.0	37.9/6.5

[a] The first-year heritage students were tested in December 1993 after one semester of study. The other three groups were tested in September 1993 as they were starting the level of study indicated.

comprehension, grammatical knowledge, and reading skills than non-heritage students in the third- and fourth-year courses, thus giving rise to the question of whether the heritage speakers had been appropriately placed within the language curriculum.

Of even greater concern was that during the 1993–94 academic year, there were heritage students enrolled in the first-year language course whose Chinese language skills were superior to those of non-heritage speakers in the third- and fourth-year courses. It was unclear on what basis those heritage speakers had been allowed, or perhaps encouraged, to enroll in the beginning course. Given the very basic content of the first-year course, it is highly unlikely that the CPPT scores of the heritage students enrolled in the first-year course had been significantly affected by the

students' one semester of Chinese study at the University of Maryland before taking the test.

On the basis of this assessment of the existing Chinese language program, the most pressing need identified was a change in the placement process. We decided to use the CPPT as a placement test for all incoming students, regardless of where or how they had previously been exposed to the Chinese language. Using the scores compiled during the initial administration of the CPPT to all post-first-year students (September 1993) and to all first-year students (December 1993), with the addition of another set from an administration to all post-first-year students (December 1994), the program now has a complete set of means that can be used for placement purposes for incoming students.

Commencing in the spring of 1994, all students with previous Chinese language background, either through formal instruction or home language exposure, have been required to take the CPPT if they wish to take Chinese language classes at the University of Maryland. The percentage of heritage students placed in language courses via the CPPT has increased to a reasonably high level (at least 70 percent) since the beginning of the 1995–96 academic year. The curriculum has been expanded by the establishment of a new "accelerated track" course, which is discussed later. Any heritage speakers whose skill levels are judged to be too high to be accommodated within the existing language core curriculum are directed to upper-level courses in literary (classical) Chinese language, Chinese literature, and Chinese linguistics. Depending on the student population, these courses are frequently taught in Chinese, which gives students an opportunity to continue to use their Chinese language skills in a more content-based instructional setting. An added benefit has been to increase enrollment in these upper-level courses. It has also enabled us to create more homogeneous groups of learners throughout the modern Chinese language program, as well as to reserve seats in the beginning-level course for genuine novices.

Stage 2: Needs Analysis

To assess further the range of skill levels within the elementary Chinese student population, the CPPT was administered in December 1993 to all students who had just completed the first semester of the intensive first-year Chinese course. Table 3 details the results for the class as whole.

Table 3.

CPPT results by First-Year Students, December 1993

Listening Mean/SD (T=22)	Grammar Mean/SD (T=15)	Reading Mean/SD (T=20)	Total (T=57)
12.6/5.8	6.8/4.9	8.6/5.6	28.0/14.4

Immediately apparent is the tremendous range of scores within a single class, as reflected by the high standard deviations. Clearly, whatever placement procedures had been in place prior to the beginning of the academic year were not sufficient to ensure a relatively homogeneous beginning-level class. Moreover, what had been equally apparent in teaching this group of students throughout the fall term was that one could not merely divide between "heritage" and "non-heritage" students. To begin with, there were at least a half-dozen ethnic Chinese students who entered the course as true beginners, lacking even the most rudimentary speaking and/or reading skills in Chinese. Second, there was a wide range of proficiency among the heritage speakers, reflected most acutely in the reading comprehension section of the CPPT. Two groups of heritage speakers were identified on the basis of their CPPT performance as well as the experience of having worked with the students throughout the semester. This necessitated distinguishing formally between what we now call the "semi-native" and "true native" students. The divergent skill levels of these two groups of heritage learners after one semester of study, as well as of those of the true beginners, are presented in Table 4.

The students in the first-year course whom we labeled "semi-native" have interesting linguistic profiles. A comparison of the skill levels between those students after one semester of intensive study (i.e., six contact hours per week) and non-heritage speakers at the start of the second year (i.e., after one year of intensive study at University of Maryland or the equivalent elsewhere) is depicted in Table 5.

After one semester of first-year study, while the semi-native students are very close in listening comprehension skill and grammatical knowledge to their non-heritage counterparts at the beginning of the second year, their reading skills are considerably weaker. This suggests that merely

Table 4.

CPPT Results of First-Year Students (by Category), December 1993

Student Category	Listening Mean/SD (T=22)	Grammar Mean/SD (T=15)	Reading Mean/SD (T=20)	Total (T=57)
True Beginner (N=8)	8.0 (2.9)	3.8 (2.0)	4.0 (1.5)	15.8 (5.4)
Semi-Native (N=9)	13.2 (5.8)	5.1 (2.4)	8.0 (3.2)	26.2 (5.5)
True Native (N=5)	18.8 (1.6)	14.8 (0.5)	17.2 (2.6)	50.8 (3.9)

Table 5.

CPPT Results for Semi-Native First-Year Students and Non-Heritage Second-Year Students**

Student Category	Listening Mean/SD (T=22)	Grammar Mean/SD (T=15)	Reading Mean/SD (T=20)	Total (T=57)
First-Year Semi-Native (N=9)	13.2/5.8	5.1/2.4	8.0/3.2	26.2/5.5
Second-Year Non-Heritage (N=6)	13.3/2.1	5.8/3.1	10.0/1.8	29.2/3.2

** Data for the first-year students were collected in December 1993, after one semester of study. Data for the second-year students were collected in September 1994, at the beginning of the second year.

advancing the semi-native students more rapidly into the existing second-year course would not be advisable, especially given the highly divergent skill levels within that group (see Table 2). The CPPT results strongly

indicated to the University of Maryland faculty the need for a curricular structure specifically designed for the semi-native heritage speakers, who constituted almost 50 percent of the first-year testing population.

With financial support from the Center for Teaching Excellence and the Office of the Dean for Undergraduate Studies, a new "accelerated track" course for semi-native speakers was established in the fall of 1995. The pre-existing first- and second-year curricular structure has been retained with a target audience of students with no previous background in Chinese—that is, a "novice track."[3] The new "accelerated track" course is built around a core population of heritage speakers of non-Mandarin dialects, specifically the sort of students categorized as being semi-native speakers—namely, those students with strong aural/oral skills but comparatively weak (generally almost non-existent) reading and writing skills. During the first year of implementation, the majority of the students in the accelerated track were native speakers of either Cantonese or Taiwanese (Southern Min) dialect.

The "accelerated track" course is characterized by the following features:

1. A thorough introduction to and grounding in modern standard Chinese (Mandarin) pronunciation and the PINYIN system of romanization. Because we recognize the inherent limitations on the development of fully standard Mandarin pronunciation for lifelong speakers of non-Mandarin (e.g., Cantonese, Southern Min) dialects, the students are assessed for their "ceiling" with respect to their ability to produce standard Mandarin. The rigorous introduction to PINYIN is intended to enable students to use the texts and materials effectively to acquire the most standard Mandarin pronunciation possible.
2. Instruction in the features of modern standard Chinese grammar, with particular attention paid to the differences between Mandarin and non-Mandarin syntax in areas such as word order and preposition usage.
3. Earlier and more rapid focus on literacy skill development, while still using spoken (Mandarin) Chinese as the principal medium for classroom instruction.

Stage 3: Continuing Enhancement

One clear indication of the success of the placement process is the decreasing standard deviations in the lower-level courses. Table 6 shows the

Table 6.

CPPT Results for First-Year Students

Administration Date	Listening Mean/SD (T=22)	Grammar Mean/SD (T=15)	Reading Mean/SD (T=20)	Total (T=57)
December 1993 (N=22)	12.6/5.8	6.8/4.9	8.6/5.6	28.0/14.4
December 1994 (N=31)	11.7/5.6	5.8/4.8	6.1/4.3	23.7/12.8
May 1995 (N=30)	14.1/4.1	6.7/3.5	9.2/3.5	30.0/9.2

means and standard deviations for first-year students taking the CPPT during the first two years of its administration at the University of Maryland. While all of these are post-study administrations, it will be noted that the December administrations were after one semester of study, and the May administration after two semesters of study.

As these more linguistically cohesive student populations move into the upper levels of the curriculum, we will continue to monitor the placement process using, among other means, another administration of the CPPT during the 1997–98 academic year to confirm or revise the existing placement levels.

While the use of a purely local assessment metric meets the needs of a particular program, participation in nationally, or even internationally based projects enables a program to better understand its strengths and weaknesses within a more global context. Such an opportunity has been available to college-level Chinese language programs over the past several years in the development of the SAT II Chinese (with listening) test. The Educational Testing Service has made pretest versions of its SAT II Chinese test available at no cost to college-level programs to help in its test development efforts. The test is now administered on an annual basis throughout the United States. While the SAT II Chinese test does vary in specific question content from year to year, the consistency of item types and overall test content means that it can be used for continuous monitoring of curriculum development work at the University of Maryland

without resorting to overuse of the CPPT. In fact, the structure of the SAT II, composed of listening comprehension, grammatical structures, and reading comprehension sections, is identical to all of the existing receptive skills tests now available for Chinese, including the CPPT.

Since beginning administration of the SAT II pretest in the spring of 1994, we have been able to continue to monitor our program-internal course placement. Table 7 shows the results from administrations of the SAT II to first-year students between May 1994 and December 1995. As with Table 6, although all of these are post-study administrations, the May administrations were after two semesters of study, and the December administration after one semester of study.

The generally decreasing standard deviations demonstrate an increasing coherence of student language skill levels within the first-year course, made possible through both more appropriate placement of "true native" students in more advanced courses, a process that began in fall 1994, as well as the establishment of the accelerated-track course for "semi-native" students in the fall 1995 semester. It also provides confirmation of a similar pattern seen in the data shown in Table 6.

Additionally, at the end of the 1995 fall term, the SAT II was administered to students in the accelerated-track course, as well as to all first- and second-year students in the regular-track courses to monitor the effectiveness of placement procedures for all three lower-level courses. Table 8 provides the results for that test administration.

Table 7.

SAT II Results for First-Year Students

Administration Date	Listening Mean/SD (T=18)	Grammar Mean/SD (T=20)	Reading Mean/SD (T=17)	Total (T=55)
May 1994 (N=40)	14.0/3.3	12.3/5.8	11.1/4.0	37.4/11.8
May 1995 (N=30)	10.1/4.8	10.1/4.2	8.0/2.9	28.1/10.7
December 1995 (N=30)	9.7/4.1	7.9/3.6	9.1/2.7	26.8/7.7

Table 8.

SAT II Results for All Lower-Level Chinese Students, December 1995

Course	Listening Mean/SD (T=18)	Grammar Mean/SD (T=20)	Reading Mean/SD (T=17)	Total (T=55)
First-Year (Novice Track) (N=26)	9.7/4.1	7.9/3.6	9.1/2.7	26.8/7.7
Accelerated Track (N=19)	15.1/3.1	12.8/4.2	12.4/3.1	40.4/8.2
Second-Year (N=20)	12.0/4.1	11.6/4.8	13.0/3.5	36.6/10.7

The relatively high standard deviations of the mean scores of the second-year students reflects the program's far less systematic placement procedures in the pre-CPPT era. The data also show the clearly stronger listening skills of the semi-native speakers who make up the enrollment for the accelerated course, providing continuing justification for this curricular innovation.

Another advantage of utilizing the SAT II pretest is that it allows the program to continue to monitor changes in the demographics of the student population. At least three types of students have increased in number within the University of Maryland Chinese language program during recent years: students with one to three years of high school Chinese language instruction; native speakers of Vietnamese who frequently also have some background in a southern Chinese non-Mandarin dialect, most often Cantonese; and native speakers of Korean with various degrees of proficiency in Chinese character orthography. Table 9 details the SAT II performance of these various student groups in the fall 1995 first-year Chinese course.

One will note that the final row of data (for the "true native" category) reflected student performance far above that of all other students in the class. The three students in that category had not been required to take the CPPT due to a bureaucratic mix-up; as a result, they were inappropriately placed in the regular first-year class. Additionally, some of those in

Table 9.

SAT II Scores of First-Year Students by Background, December 1993

Background	Listening Mean/SD (T=18)	Grammar Mean/SD (T=20)	Reading Mean/SD (T=17)	Total (T=55)
True Novice (N=2)	4.5/0.7	4.5/0.7	7.0/1.4	16.0/1.4
High School Background (N=3)	7.0/3.5	6.0/1.7	9.7/1.5	22.7/5.9
Korean (N=4)	6.0/1.8	5.3/2.6	9.8/4.3	21.0/7.1
Vietnamese (N=8)	10.0/3.3	8.1/2.3	8.6/2.7	26.8/2.8
Semi-Native (N=6)	11.7/2.3	8.0/1.8	9.0/2.5	28.7/3.1
True Native (N=3)	16.3/1.2	15.1/4.4	10.7/3.1	42.0/2.7

the semi-native and Vietnamese categories, who had not reported themselves to be speakers of a Chinese dialect, would also have been better placed in the accelerated-track class or in a higher-level course in the Chinese curriculum. As a result of this assessment, steps have been taken to ensure that the CPPT is given to every incoming student with Chinese language background before final placement in a course is approved, including administration of the CPPT on the first day of class if necessary. At the same time, the mean scores for students with high school Chinese background and Korean native speakers indicate that their placement in the regular first-year course is the most appropriate option.

As for the new accelerated track, while current resources allow us to offer only one year's worth of curriculum, equal to approximately the same number of characters as those covered in regular first- and second-year courses, the eventual establishment of a graduate degree program within the next several years will enable us to expand our teaching staff with graduate assistants, and thus increase the course offerings within the accelerated track.

The current accelerated track, largely serving students who have home background in a non-Mandarin dialect, is not the only sector within the Chinese language curriculum meriting development. At least two other heritage student groups have been identified that would provide sufficient enrollments to justify establishing the following courses: (1) an advanced-level writing course for those native speakers with genuine native-level proficiency in the oral and literacy skills, but who wish to develop their writing skills for either more creative or vocationally oriented purposes; (2) an intermediate-level speaking course for native speakers of a non-Mandarin dialect who wish to focus exclusively on developing their pronunciation mastery and fluency in using Mandarin for communicative purposes.

These and other possibilities for curricular development await the hoped-for increase in resources available to the department in the years ahead.

Conclusion

Teaching Chinese to the Chinese requires a systematic assessment of both student population and institutional resources to best meet the needs of the former without exhausting the latter. The revision in progress of the curriculum discussed here is but one scenario that was appropriate for the particular local conditions at the University of Maryland. Other situations may well require more creative approaches. For example, where the heritage speaker population outstrips resources at an institution, joint ventures among a number of institutions, possibly even at both the secondary and tertiary level, may be an attractive alternative, particularly in a large metropolitan area with a comparatively large number of potential participating institutions.

Simultaneous with the challenge of heritage learners is the challenge of articulation. For those involved in Chinese language instruction at the college level, it will increasingly be the case that students with greater and more diverse types of preparation will appear in our classes—heritage and non-heritage speakers with considerable previous background in Chinese from formal and informal instructional settings, including public and private elementary and secondary schools, overseas study programs, and Chinese community or weekend schools. For comparison purposes, consider that according to data compiled by the Chinese Language

Association of Secondary-Elementary Schools (CLASS) in the fall of 1995, just under 6,000 students were enrolled in K–12 Chinese language programs in the United States, including exploratory programs (Lee, personal communication, November 1995). But in statistics compiled by the National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS) for the same period, there were reported to be approximately 82,000 students enrolled in community/weekend schools—over ten times as many potential students for programs at the university level (Chao, personal communication, November 1995). Of course not all of these students from either community or compulsory schools will enroll in university-level Chinese language programs. But those who do bring linguistic, communicative, and cultural skills that are not yet easily accommodated in existing college curricula. If only in quantitative terms, it is clear that it is the community schools, which are composed almost exclusively of heritage learners, that present to us the greatest challenge.

As a result, we in the field of Chinese language education have the opportunity—and indeed, are compelled by circumstances—to take a leadership role in developing models for articulation. Articulating with the cultural and linguistic demands of teaching Chinese to the Chinese will be critical to our success.

Notes

1. *Practical Chinese Reader* (hereafter *PCR*) was originally chosen as the base text because of its widespread use throughout the United States. In a survey conducted by the Chinese Language Teachers Association in 1995, approximately one-fourth of 382 responding instructors reported using *PCR* as the text for both the first year (28.6 percent) and second year (25.4 percent) courses; the next most commonly used textbook at the first-year level was used by only 12.7 percent of the respondents.
2. The so-called Chinese "dialects" are for all practical purposes mutually unintelligible languages. A person who can speak only Mandarin and a person who can speak only one of the non-Mandarin dialects (e.g., Cantonese) would be unable to communicate orally, primarily due to the high degree of phonological difference between the two. However, all of the dialects are historically related and share many common syntactic and lexical features as well as a common written

orthography. Thus, it is much easier for a speaker of Cantonese or another dialect to learn Mandarin than it would be to learn any non-Chinese language.

3. In addition to true beginners, the "novice track" also includes students with some high school preparation, although not sufficient to be placed in the second-year course, and speakers of Vietnamese and Korean.

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Students Classified as Learning Disabled and the College Foreign Language Requirement: A Case Study of One University

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It is well established that most students with diagnosed learning disabilities (LD) experience difficulties learning a foreign language (FL) in traditional high school and college classroom settings. (For a review of this literature, see Ganschow and Sparks 1993; Sparks and Ganschow 1993a; Sparks, Ganschow, and Javorsky 1992). The commonly offered explanation for this phenomenon is that this population is thought to have problems with language learning, generally (i.e., using and understanding oral language, written language, or both). Since a FL is the learning of a *language*, it stands to reason that these students will have difficulties in this area.

Universities regularly encounter difficulty in determining how to handle students diagnosed as LD who are experiencing problems meeting the demands of FL study, either to meet admissions standards or for graduation requirements. Scott (1990) describes how difficult it is to "come to terms" with these students, and she discusses the unique challenges they present to their institutions. Not only do these students struggle but they also present dilemmas to the university support staff and to the FL faculty working with them.

Recent studies indicate that a number of students not identified as LD also experience varying difficulties learning a FL and have profiles similar to the identified LD students, albeit differing in severity or degree. (For a discussion of this point, see Sparks and Ganschow 1993b.) In fact, reports in the literature indicate that many students become diagnosed as LD *after* they experience frustration and failure in FL classes and are referred to an LD specialist for a "suspected" LD (see, e.g., Cohen 1983; Lefebvre 1984; Pompian and Thum 1988; Sparks, Ganschow, and Pohlman 1989).

In the early 1980s, reports began to appear in the literature about policies and procedures that colleges and universities were developing to address the FL dilemma. The first such reference appeared in a now much cited chapter in a book about students at Harvard. Here students with histories of dyslexia were waived from the FL requirement (Dinklage 1971). In the 1980s, two surveys of four-year colleges and universities were undertaken to determine the institutions' policies and procedures for waiver/course substitution of the FL requirement (Ganschow, Myer, and Roeger 1989; Keeney and Smith 1984). Findings of the earlier survey of 73 select colleges and universities (Keeney and Smith 1984) indicated that 90 percent required a FL in at least one degree program and that institutions were beginning to make modifications for students with disabilities. The later expanded survey responded to by LD service providers at 166 institutions (Ganschow, Myer, and Roeger 1989) indicated that about 50 percent of the institutions surveyed required a FL in at least one degree program; close to 75 percent had either a formal or informal policy for waiver/substitution; and only a small percentage provided modifications or special classes to enable students to succeed in a FL. Virtually all institutions required (80 percent) or strongly recommended (15 percent) the diagnosis of a LD to substantiate the need for FL waiver/course substitution. Over 50 percent suggested that failure in at least one language would be a helpful indicator of need. Tutoring was the main option for assisting students (74 percent), about 25 percent provided an individualized learning pace, and a very few (8 percent) provided special FL classes.

Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (SUBPART E 104.44) mandates that postsecondary institutions make modifications to their academic requirements to ensure that all qualified students with special needs may participate in their programs. Modifications may include, for example, changes in the length of time permitted for the completion of

degree requirements, adaptation in the manner in which specific courses are conducted, and/or substitution of specific courses required for the completion of degree requirements. Clearly, colleges must make appropriate academic adjustments and reasonable modifications to policies and practices in order to allow full participation by their students with identified disabilities.

Reports have appeared that specifically address the issue of policies and procedures to guide colleges and universities in developing alternatives to FLs and assessing need for these alternatives. Freed (1987) described a set of procedures and policies used at the University of Pennsylvania to deal with petitions for exemption from the university's college FL requirement. Philips, Ganschow, and Anderson (1991) described the petition process and provided guidelines for service providers.

The issue of rights vs. appropriateness of students with LD to receive waiver/substitution of the FL requirement has also received recent attention (Moore 1995). Here the debate centers around the purposes of FL education and whether teachers should be making more appropriate accommodations rather than using the law to exempt these students from FL classes.

Lacking in the literature is a comprehensive longitudinal demographic description of a population who has received permission by an institution to waive or substitute the FL requirement. It would be useful for institutions that are struggling with ways to deal with the issue of course substitutions to be able to refer to such a profile. This description would also be of use to coordinators of services for students with LD, who assist the institution in making decisions about who should be referred for testing, who should receive a waiver from the FL requirement, and who should be allowed to select course substitutions. Of particular interest in such a demographic description would be the answers to questions such as the number of students who are referred for assessment each year, the diagnostic indicators used to screen and identify referred students, whether the identified students meet the generally established criteria for a diagnosed "LD" (i.e., at least one standard deviation discrepancy between intelligence [IQ] and academic achievement),[1] and how the general academic performance of these students compares with the performance of the student body at large.

The purposes of this chapter are to describe the demographic profile and standardized test results of 97 students from one university who

petitioned and received permission to substitute courses for the university's FL requirement and to discuss the findings from the perspectives of diagnosticians, universities and university service providers, and FL educators. The data for this study were collected at a state-supported, medium-sized (16,000 students), midwestern university composed mainly of undergraduate students; the university used the petition system and maintained records of its students over a ten-year period.

In this chapter, we describe the institution's petitioning and course substitution process, present a demographic profile and standardized test results of students who petitioned for and received permission to substitute courses for the FL requirement, and discuss implications for colleges and universities, service providers, FL faculties, and diagnosticians.

Petition and Course Substitution Process

Although Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act mandates that institutions make appropriate adjustments and reasonable modifications, it neither makes clear how the terms "appropriate" and "reasonable" are to be defined nor does it specify how students access these "adjustments" and "modifications." This dilemma is brought into sharp focus when students with FL learning problems find they cannot meet admission and/or graduation requirement(s) and ask their institutions for help.

By way of background and introduction to the dilemma, when the university under discussion here appointed a Learning Disabilities Coordinator almost ten years ago, there was one sentence in the *Student Handbook* that stated that "a student may petition for an exception to any of the academic regulations." For students struggling in a FL course, this sentence remained hidden among regulations dealing with admission, registration, grades and scholarship, examinations, academic misconduct, class attendance, graduation requirements, and honors/distinctions. If students did encounter the sentence, it gave little direction as to where and how to seek help. Therefore, the first problem for the student was finding the appropriate vehicle (a petition) to address his/her problem, and the second issue was knowing whom to ask for help.

At this institution, there was an informal network of university personnel who were integral players in the petition process. For example, the petition forms were available only through the Chief Academic Advisor, the FL faculty and department chairpersons were needed to document class attendance and effort (at that time, students were expected to attempt

the language), major advisors needed to give their signed permission to a petition, and there had to be a screening by the Learning Disability Coordinator, followed by, perhaps, a referral for expensive and time-consuming evaluations. Tutoring efforts were to be documented by Office of Learning Assistance Staff. All of these university personnel worked independently in different offices across campus and were not part of a recognized, formal structure. This complicated network created many problems for students because key players were neither well identified nor in regular communication with each other.

The university had its own issues to deal with as well. At this institution, petitions were presented to a committee of six faculty members, all from different academic departments, few of whom were trained to interpret the diagnostic information that accompanied the petition. Since petitions were judged on a case-by-case basis and heard both at the divisional and interdivisional level, the petition discussions were a time-consuming process for the committee. Faculty expressed reservations, not so much over the amount of time spent reviewing petitions, but on the difficulty of judging each case on its merits. The supporting documents with each petition varied considerably. For example, some faculty wrote letters detailing a student's efforts in FL study, other faculty chose not to write at all; some high schools sent detailed histories of FL difficulties while others provided nothing; some diagnostic reports were clear in making recommendations for FL course substitutions based on standardized test information, while other reports were deficient in pertinent information concerning language aptitudes. The disparities in the supporting materials and diagnostic testing information often made the decision-making process difficult for members of the petition committee.

Additionally, there was but one favorable outcome for a petition—a course substitution plan. No waivers were granted, nor were opportunities provided for alternate methods of FL instruction (e.g., slower pace), nor other academic adjustments (e.g., audit the course without fee for one semester; a later drop date without penalty).[2] Thus, students who petitioned successfully found themselves *out* of the traditional FL classroom and *in* alternate culture courses, where often they still struggled with the demands of the "foreign" language vocabulary and terminology.

Thus far, we have explained the university's petitioning system and course substitution process. We now examine the demographic profile and standardized test results of the petition students. Here we begin with a description of the method of subject selection, procedure, instruments, and analyses of data.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were 97 college students who had petitioned for and received permission for course substitution of the university's FL requirement between 1985 and 1995. All of the students, 71 males and 26 females, graduated from this institution. The mean age of the students was 24 years 2 months (ages ranged from 18 to 51 years).[3] Each student had been classified as LD in an evaluation from a qualified professional and had subsequently worked with the LD Coordinator in the Office of Learning Assistance to submit his/her petition.

Procedure

Demographic and standardized testing information for each subject was on file and maintained by the LD Coordinator in the university's Office of Learning Assistance. The students' information and test data were recorded on a form by the first and second authors and by graduate assistants trained by the second author.[4] In some cases, information and standardized test data were not available to us (a few SAT and ACT scores or standardized test scores). Demographic information included 14 questions about the student's FL learning problems and his/her educational background. These questions are provided in the Results section.

Each of the students had previously been evaluated by one or more members of the medical, psychological, or educational profession. In most cases (86 of the 97 students), the students had been evaluated with a standardized test of intelligence, the *Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised (WISC-R)* or the *Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised (WAIS-R)*, and at least one standardized achievement test (i.e., reading, spelling, written language, oral language, mathematics).[5] Because the students had been evaluated by many different professionals in private practice or in a public school, each of whom used different batteries of achievement tests, the records showed that a large number of achievement tests had been used. A brief description of the instruments and what they measure is in the Appendix. Here, the standardized tests are divided into five areas: Aptitude, Reading, Mathematics, Written Language/Spelling, and Oral Language.

In three cases, students had been administered achievement measures but not a standardized measure of intelligence. In four cases, students had

been administered only a FL aptitude test (either the Modern Language Aptitude Test or the Defense Language Aptitude Battery). In four cases ,students had been diagnosed as LD but had not been administered standardized measures of intelligence or achievement.[6]

Analysis of Data

Frequency distributions were calculated to answer the demographic profile questions. Means, standard deviations, and test score ranges were calculated to determine the total group's standardized testing profiles.

Results

Demographic Profile

The Demographic Profile is divided into four subheadings: College Major and Class (Table 1), Number of Petition Students by Year (Table 2), Histories of Petition Students (Table 3), and Academic Records of Petition Students (Table 4).

Table 1.

Students' College Divisions and Year of Petition by Class

Major	Class				Total Number	Percent
	Fresh-man	Sopho-more	Junior	Senior		
Arts & Sciences	9	9	26	28	72	74.2
Business	2	2	4	2	10	10.3
Education	2	0	0	1	3	3.1
Fine Arts	1	0	0	1	2	2.1
Applied Sciences	1	2	4	3	10	10.3
Total Number	15	13	34	35	97	100
Percent of Total	15.4	13.4	35.2	36.1		

Table 2.

Number of Petitions Granted by Year (1985–1995)

Year	Number	Percent of Total
1986	2	2.1
1987	6	6.2
1988	4	4.1
1989	8	8.2
1990	13	13.4
1991	15	15.5
1992	12	12.4
1993	19	19.6
1994	11	11.3
1995[a]	7	7.2
	97	

[a] Represents only through May graduation

Table 1 shows that over 70 percent of the students petitioned as upper-level (junior and senior) students and that over 70 percent of the students were enrolled in the division of Arts and Sciences.

Table 2 presents the number of petitions granted by year. Although the number of petitions has increased gradually over time, the total number for each year was less than 20.

Table 3 shows the histories of the petition students. Most students (62.9 percent) did not have a previous diagnosis of LD. Over three-fourths (77.3 percent) of the students had been evaluated by a private clinician (e.g., psychologist, medical, and/or educational professional); less than one fourth of the students (21.7 percent) had been evaluated by his/her public school. Over three-fifths (62.9 percent) of the students had been referred to the Office of Learning Assistance only for problems in a FL course.

Table 3.

Histories of Petition Students[a]

(N=97)

LD, testing, and foreign language histories	Number	Percent
Previously Identified as LD	36	37.1
Evaluated by Private Clinician[b]	75	77.3
Referred Only for Foreign Language	61	62.9
Foreign Language Required for Graduation	81	83.5
Foreign Language Required for Admission Deficiency	26	26.8
Foreign Language Taken in High School	79	85.0
Foreign Language Taken in College	73	75.2
Tutored in Foreign Language	44	45.4
Accommodations in Foreign Language	8	8.3
Foreign Language Waived in High School	5	5.2

[a] All percentages reflect a "Yes" response (i.e., 36 students were identified as LD but 61 were not identified as LD before applying for petition).

[b] All remaining students except one had been evaluated by public school clinician.

Over four-fifths (83.5 percent) of the students were enrolled in the FL to fulfill a graduation requirement; about one-fourth (26.8 percent) were enrolled in the FL course because of an admission deficiency. Most of the petition students (85 percent) had taken a FL course in high school and three-fourths (75.2 percent) had completed or attempted at least one FL course in college. Almost half (45.4 percent) of the students reported having received tutoring in the FL while in college; only a few students (8.3 percent) reported having received accommodations (untimed exams, allowances for spelling) from the FL instructor. Most of the students (94.8 percent) had not received a waiver from FL courses in high school.

Table 4.

Academic Records of Petition Students

Test Scores and GPA	N	X	SD	Range	
				Minimum	Maximum
SAT Verbal	17	467	64.4	390	580
SAT Math	17	568	68.2	450	680
SAT Total	17	1035	118.3	890	1260
ACT Soc Sci[a]	46	21.4	5.9	5	31
ACT Nat Sci[a]	46	24.1	5.4	10	34
ACT English[a]	46	18.9	5.8	5	30
ACT Mathematics[a]	46	18.9	6.3	3	30
ACT Composite	56	21.5	4.5	10	29
Graduating GPA	97	2.7	0.5	2.0	4.0

[a] ACT subtest scores were not available on all 56 students.

Table 4 shows that the mean GPA at graduation for the petition students was 2.7. Their GPA was somewhat below the mean GPA of 2.9–3.0 reported for the total student body by the university's registrar. Also, the petition students' mean Total SAT score (1035) was somewhat below the middle 50 percent of the entering first-year students at this university (1050 to 1210). The petition students' mean ACT Total score (21) was somewhat below the middle 50 percent of entering first-year students at this university (23–28).

Standardized Test Results

The results of the five categories of tests are presented in Tables 5 and 6 under the headings Aptitude (Table 5) and Reading, Mathematics, Written Language/Spelling, and Oral Language (Table 6). Major findings are highlighted here.

Aptitude

Results of intelligence testing showed that the subjects' mean IQ was in the higher end of the Average range (Standard Score (SS) = 107, or 68th percentile). There was no major discrepancy between the subjects' Verbal and Performance IQs. Students' Full Scale IQs ranged from the lowest end of the Below Average range (SS=80, or 9th percentile) to the Very Superior range (SS=133, or 99th percentile) range.

Results showed that the petition group's score on the MLAT Long Form was in the Below Average range (SS=81, or 10th percentile). Students' MLAT scores ranged from the Poor range (SS=65, or 1st percentile) to the Above Average range (SS=115, or 85th percentile).

Reading

Results showed that the students' mean scores in reading ranged from the Average (SS=96, or 40th percentile, on the WJPB) to Superior (SS=124, or 93rd percentile, on the GORT-R).

Table 5.

Means and Standard Deviations for Standardized Testing Measures — Aptitude

Aptitude Tests	N	X	SD	Range	
				Minimum	Maximum
Intelligence					
WISC-R or WAIS-R Verbal IQ	86	106.0	10.7	80	133
WISC-R or WAIS-R Performance IQ	86	107.5	11.7	86	137
WISC-R or WAIS-R Full Scale IQ	86	107.3	10.9	81	131
Foreign Language Aptitude					
MLAT Long Form	62	81.0	10.2	65	115

Mathematics

Results showed that the students' mean scores in mathematics were in the Average range on all three testing measures (SS=100, or 50th percentile, on the WRAT-R; SS=104, or 60th percentile, on the WJ-R and WJPB).

Written Language/Spelling

Results showed generally that the students' mean scores in written language were in the Average range (SS=95, or 38th percentile, on the WJ-R: Broad Written Language Cluster; SS=98, or 45th percentile, on the WJPB). There was a substantial difference between the students' mean scores on the WJ-R: Dictation subtest (SS=90, or 25th percentile) and the WJ-R: Writing Samples subtest (SS=101, or 52nd percentile).[7, 8]

Table 6.

Means and Standard Deviations for Standardized Testing Measures—Reading, Mathematics, Written Language/Spelling, and Oral Language

Achievement Tests	N[a]	X	SD	Range	
				Minimum	Maximum
Reading					
WRMT-R Basic Skills	6	104.7	9.8	93	118
WRMT-R Reading Comprehension	6	107.8	13.2	92	131
WRMT-R Total Test	6	105.8	9.5	98	124
WJPB Reading Cluster	6	96.2	10.4	87	115
WRAT Reading	23	98.7	11.9	78	118
WJ-R Word Identification	62	103.4	12.7	79	145
WJ-R Passage Comprehension	62	106.4	13.2	78	137
WJ-R Broad Reading	62	105.0	10.8	87	127
WJ-R Word Attack	39	98.1	13.6	75	140
PIAT-Reading Comprehension	2	102.5	6.4	98	107
Nelson-Denny	1	98.0	—	—	—
Gray Oral	15	124.0	12.6	97	145

[a] Some students had been administered more than one test of reading, mathematics, written language, or oral language.

Results showed that the students' mean score in spelling was in the Average range (SS=94, or 35th percentile, on the WRAT-R: Spelling subtest).

Table 6. (cont.)

Means and Standard Deviations for Standardized Testing Measures—Reading, Mathematics, Written Language/Spelling, and Oral Language

Achievement Tests	N[a]	X	SD	Range	
				Minimum	Maximum
Mathematics					
WJPB Mathematics	8	104.1	8.6	90	115
WRAT Arithmetic	26	100.5	13.6	73	131
WJ-R Calculation	51	100.2	14.1	67	131
WJ-R Applied Problems	51	102.4	11.4	79	124
WJ-R Broad Mathematics	51	103.9	15.7	76	153
Written Language					
WRAT Spelling	53	94.4	11.2	65	114
WJPB Written Language	9	98.3	15.1	73	127
WJ-R Dictation	63	89.5	12.5	61	122
WJ-R Writing Samples	63	100.6	18.7	63	174
WJ-R Written Language	63	94.8	13.3	68	139
Test of Written Language-2	63	97.3	15.1	71	123
Oral Language					
Peabody Picture Vocabulary	26	106.9	14.4	85	133
Test of Adolescent Language-2	2	117.0	11.3	109	125
Test of Language Competence-E	25	97.4	11.5	72	121

[a] Some students had been administered more than one test of reading, mathematics, written language, or oral language.

Oral Language

Results showed that the students' mean scores on measures of oral language were in the Average range (SS=97, or 42nd percentile, on the TLC-E; SS=107, or 87th percentile on the TOAL-2).[9]

Discussion

Demographic Profiles

One point of interest is the small number of students who sought petitions. At the institution, an average of only ten students per year out of a student body of close to 16,000 petitioned. The two students who petitioned in 1986 represented about 5 percent of the university's classified LD population at that time; the 19 who petitioned in 1993 represented about 10 percent. Yearly totals have consistently been in the range of 5 to 10 percent of the university's LD population. While Table 2 data reflect a decrease in petitions in 1994 and 1995, there is an explanation. In mid-1994 it became evident that the petition committees were struggling with their decisions. More petitions were rejected outright, and many were returned for "more explanation." Therefore, unless students were close to graduation, their petitions were "held" by the LD Coordinator until a change in university policy removed the responsibility for decision-making from the committee altogether. Also, the 1995 data included only January–May graduates and did not include the August–December graduates. If final data for 1995 were to include these two groups of graduates as well as the "held-over" petitions, 1995 would likely reflect a comparable number of petitions processed by the university.

The number of petitions in this study represents about 10 percent of the LD population at the university. The low number of petitions may occur for several reasons. First, as pointed out earlier, many students who struggle with or fail FL courses may not be aware of the university's substitution policy, or how to access that policy. Second, there may not be large numbers of students failing FL courses at this university; thus, the policy may not be used by large numbers of students. Third, students who struggle with or fail a FL course may drop out of school, change divisions to avoid the language requirement, or transfer to another university. Fourth, some students who struggle with FL coursework may persist until they pass the course(s) and meet the university's requirement. (About 5 percent of the LD group fit this profile.) Fifth, the university may have denied

petitions from students for course substitutions. We investigated these last two speculations and found that the petitions of fewer than 5 students had been denied. Of particular interest were two of these five students. One student did complete the language requirement on the third try. Another passed a FL course at another university and transferred the credit. Both students had previously failed FL courses at the institution in this study.

Another point of interest has to do with the time at which students began the petition process. Findings indicated that the large majority (71.2 percent) of students who petitioned to substitute the FL requirement first contacted the university's Office of Learning Assistance in their junior (35.1 percent) or senior (36.1 percent) years. This finding suggests that these petition students either waited until later in their college years to take a FL course or that they failed or withdrew from a FL course in their first two years at the university.

This study shows that the diagnosis of LD was likely to be based primarily on the students' problems with FL learning, not on their difficulties with academic learning generally. Only 37.1 percent had been referred for problems with other academic courses in addition to problems with a FL course. A significant number (61, or 62.9 percent) of the students in the petition group had not been previously identified as LD before entering college; however, all of these students were subsequently identified as LD and then received permission to substitute courses for the FL requirement based on the diagnosis. The finding lends additional support to the previous point that most students were referred to the Office of Learning Assistance because of FL learning difficulties. Other universities have reported similar findings (Lefebvre 1984; Pompian and Thum 1988).

The aforementioned findings raise several questions. For example, were these 61 students not previously diagnosed as LD because they had not been tested in elementary or secondary school? Were these students experiencing inordinate difficulties with academic courses other than a FL? What criteria were used by the private clinicians to diagnose these students as LD? Several students reported that they had been evaluated in elementary school because of learning problems. Others reported that they had been enrolled in remedial reading classes or speech/language therapy in the early years. However, although copies of the evaluations or other evidence to confirm their self-reports were not included in the files held by the LD Coordinator in the Office of Learning Assistance, it is possible that private diagnosticians had copies of these records. In any event, it is clear that the university and university service provider (and, perhaps, the diagnostician)

were left with incomplete records; thus, it is possible that the diagnosis of LD was made primarily on the basis of a student's problems with FL learning. It was observed in previous studies (Sparks, Ganschow, and Javorsky 1995; Sparks, Javorsky, and Ganschow 1995) that when diagnosing a LD, clinicians in private practice (as well as postsecondary institutions) are not bound to adhere to their state's guidelines (e.g., significant discrepancy between ability [IQ] and achievement) for the diagnosis of LD. Although public schools do not always adhere rigorously to their state's criteria for a LD diagnosis (Algozzine and Ysseldyke 1986; Ysseldyke and Algozzine 1983; Ysseldyke, Algozzine, Shinn, and McGue 1982), the authors speculate that the ambiguity of the criterion for diagnosis of a LD and the provision that public schools must provide services for students whom they diagnose as LD might be two reasons why a private clinician would be more likely to diagnose a LD than would a public school.

The finding that most students who applied to the university's Office of Learning Assistance were Arts and Sciences majors (74.2 percent) is consistent with the results of a survey conducted by Ganschow, Myer, and Roeger (1989), who found that most majors in the Arts and Sciences required at least one year of a FL. Because of the Arts and Sciences requirement, most petition students at this university (83.5 percent) needed the FL course for a graduation requirement; fewer students (26.8 percent) needed the course to fulfill an admission deficiency. (A small number of students needed the FL course for both.)

In general, the petition students had academic profiles similar to those of the overall student body. The mean SAT and ACT scores of the petition students were only slightly below those of entering first-year students at this university. Further, the mean graduating GPA of the 97 petition students in this study was 2.7 (B to B- average) and had been calculated with their grades in the FL courses included in their final GPA. The mean GPA of all students at this university was 2.9–3.0. Thus, students who petitioned and received permission to substitute courses for the FL requirement achieved grades that were only slightly lower than the average student at this university. It should be noted, however, that a number of petition students withdrew early from FL courses in which they were struggling or failing and received no grade for the course.

A close examination of the FL learning histories of the petition students supported the point that withdrawals from FL courses were frequent. To further investigate the grades of petition students, we conducted a qualitative assessment of their college FL grades through their college

transcripts. As reported in the Results section, 73 students had been enrolled in at least one FL course in college. Of this group, the transcripts of 58 students (79.5 percent) contained at least one grade of W (Withdrawal) or its equivalent. Of the 58 students, 22 (38 percent) had two or more W grades. Only 38 of the 73 students (52.1 percent) who had been enrolled in at least one FL course in college had received at least one grade (i.e., A, B, C, D, F) other than W in a college FL course. The following total numbers of grades were recorded: A=5, B=8, C=25, D=23, F=8, W (WP or WF)=96. These findings show that although the majority (75.2 percent) of the petition students at this university had enrolled in at least one FL course, most (79.5 percent) had withdrawn from a course.

Because numerous grades of A, B, and C in college FL courses were recorded on the students' transcripts (38 of the 69 letter grades of A, B, C, D, F, or 55 percent), we examined other aspects of students' grades. First, we compiled a list of students' college FL grades. We then analyzed the occurrence of Withdrawals in the student records. Of the 73 students who had taken at least one FL course, we found the following: nine (12.3 percent) had achieved grades of C or higher with no Withdrawals; ten (13.7 percent) had achieved grades of C or higher with at least one Withdrawal; and thirty-three (45.2 percent) had achieved only grades of W. These findings show that 26 percent of the petition students had passed (with a grade of A, B, or C) at least one semester of a college FL course, but still received permission to substitute the FL requirement. This finding suggests that some petition students were able to experience success in at least one FL course in college (usually at the beginning level). In a previous study, Sparks, Ganschow, and Pohlman (1989) speculated that some students who have had the same FL in high school are able to complete the first college course in a FL sequence successfully. However, as the material becomes more complex, some students experience increasing difficulty. In this study, almost half of the petition students had withdrawn from a FL course; it is unknown whether students who withdrew from the FL courses in which they enrolled would have passed or failed the course.

Having examined college FL grades, we likewise thought it would be informative to examine the students' high school FL grades. Of the 97 petition students, 79 (85 percent) self-reported taking at least one FL course in high school.[10] Of the 79 who reported taking at least one FL course in high school, 31 (40 percent) reported achieving grades of C or higher in those courses. Several students reported achieving grades of A and B and five students reported having achieved all As in high school FL

courses. These findings suggest that a good number of students were able to complete at least one FL course in high school successfully.

Our final examination of FL grades involved a comparison of the students' grades in high school FL courses with their grades in college FL courses. Of the 31 students who reported grades of C or higher in high school FL courses, three (9.7 percent) reported achieving grades of A, B, or C with no Withdrawals from college FL courses; five (16.1 percent) reported achieving grades of A, B, or C with at least one Withdrawal from college FL courses; eight (25.8 percent) had withdrawn from all college FL courses; three (9.7 percent) had achieved grades of C, D, or F with at least one Withdrawal from college FL courses; and 12 students (38.8 percent) who had achieved grades of A, B, or C received a petition for substitution without taking a college FL course. When this group of 12 petition students who achieved grades of A, B, or C in high school FL courses but did not take a college FL course is combined with the number of petition students (33) who had received only grades of W in college FL courses, the data provide additional support of the need for solid documentation of course struggle.

The above analyses of college and high school FL grades raise the question here as to why students received permission to substitute the FL requirement based on grades of W or on no record of performance in college FL courses. One speculation is that the students' diagnosis of LD likely weighed heavily in their favor when their petition was presented to the appropriate college committee. A second speculation is that the petition committee also weighed heavily the other documents submitted with the standardized test results, such as letters from the FL professor detailing effort and attendance, the narrative statement from the student, and the LD Coordinator's letter of support.

Standardized Test Results

Results showed similar findings across measures of aptitude, reading, mathematics, written language/spelling, and oral language. The mean scores of the students on the standardized testing measures in each of these five areas were generally in the Average range (see Tables 5 and 6). However, the group's performance on all standardized testing measures of aptitude and achievement showed wide variability (WISC-R and WAIS-R Full Scale IQ ranged from SS=81–131, or 10th–98th percentile); WRAT Reading scores ranged from SS=78–118, or 7th–88th percentile; WJ-R

Written Language scores ranged from SS=68–139, or 2nd–99th percentile). The only standardized test on which the total group's mean score was below average was the MLAT Long Form (SS=81, or 10th percentile; scores ranged from SS=65, or 1st percentile, to SS=115, or 85th percentile). Thus, the students' mean scores on aptitude and achievement tests were all in the Average range with the exception of FL aptitude. As a group, the students did not fit the minimum criteria for identification as LD (i.e., at least one standard deviation between IQ and achievement). Further, both the average scores and the wide range of scores suggest that this population of petition students is a heterogeneous group of learners.

Given the heterogeneity of the group's test profile, we conducted five additional analyses of petition students. These analyses involved those petition students who: 1) had been diagnosed as LD without the use of standardized IQ tests; 2) had a one standard deviation discrepancy (i.e., 15 standard score points) between IQ and achievement; 3) had a one standard deviation discrepancy between IQ and achievement or FL aptitude; 4) had a one standard deviation discrepancy between IQ and FL aptitude only; and 5) had at least one academic achievement test score below the 25th percentile. First, we found that five students had been diagnosed as LD without the use of either an intelligence test or achievement tests; six students had been diagnosed as LD without the use of an intelligence test, but each had been given at least one standardized measure of achievement (e.g., reading) or aptitude (i.e., the MLAT). As a diagnosis of LD implies that a student not only has significant difficulties with academic learning but also a severe discrepancy between his/her intelligence (potential for learning, or IQ) and academic achievement, we conclude that for these 11 students (11.4 percent of the petition group) the diagnosis of LD was inappropriate. Researchers have recommended that if the recommended discrepancy criteria are not used, diagnosticians should refrain from labeling their subjects as LD (Fletcher et al. 1993; Lyon and Moats 1993). The only way to determine the presence and extent of a discrepancy is to administer both standardized IQ and achievement tests.

Also, we examined the test scores of the 86 students who had been administered a standardized test of intelligence and a minimum of one standardized measure of academic achievement to determine the number of students who exhibited at least a one standard deviation between their IQ and academic achievement (reading, mathematics, written language/spelling, and oral language). The results showed that 42 (48.8 percent) of the 86 students who had been evaluated with an IQ test and a

minimum of one academic achievement test exhibited at least a one standard deviation discrepancy between their IQ and academic achievement. Thus, slightly less than half of the petition students met the minimum criteria for the diagnosis of LD.

Then, we examined the students' test scores to determine the number of students who exhibited at least a one standard deviation discrepancy between IQ and academic achievement including FL aptitude (i.e., the students' score on the MLAT). The results showed that 51 (60 percent) of the 86 students exhibited at least a one standard deviation discrepancy between their IQ and achievement when the MLAT was added as an "achievement" measure from which a discrepancy (from IQ) could be found. This finding suggests that evaluators may have used a discrepancy between IQ and the MLAT to determine either the presence of a LD (i.e., a "FL LD") or to determine that a student could not pass a FL course.

Because the preceding analysis suggested that the MLAT may have been used as a measure of "achievement" from which to calculate a discrepancy, we examined the test scores of 58 students, those who had taken both an IQ test and the MLAT. The results showed that 50 (86 percent) of the students exhibited at least a one standard deviation discrepancy between their IQ score and their score on the MLAT. This finding lends additional support to the authors' speculations that a diagnosis of LD may have been made primarily on the basis of a discrepancy between IQ and FL aptitude (and, in addition, probably the student's demographic profile). The finding, in our view, is important because the MLAT is an ***aptitude*** test, and its results do not quantify how much of or to what extent a FL has been learned (i.e., proficiency). Thus, using a discrepancy between a student's IQ and his/her MLAT score to quantify a discrepancy is actually determining a discrepancy between two aptitude tests, a process that does not indicate the presence of LD.

We then examined the students' test scores without using their IQ scores. In this analysis, a discrepancy between IQ and achievement was not calculated. Instead, we were interested in determining only those numbers of students who exhibited below-average test scores on academic achievement tests (without the MLAT). In this analysis, the authors counted only those students who exhibited at least one academic achievement test score (reading, mathematics, written language/spelling, and oral language) below the 25th percentile (SS<90). The results showed that thirty-nine (45.3 percent) of the 86 students exhibited at least one achievement test score below the 25th percentile. Thus, the achievement test scores of the remaining 47 students (54.7 percent) were in the Average range, a finding

that suggests that the academic skills of many petition students were not weak overall.

Implications

Implications for Diagnosticians

One implication is that diagnosticians who evaluate college students with FL learning difficulties should employ consistent, standard criteria for the diagnosis of LD. At most universities the diagnosis of a LD is the *sine qua non* for receiving permission to petition for substitution or waiver of the FL requirement (Ganschow, Myer, and Roeger 1989). For years, researchers have found that the lack of a consistent, empirically sound definition of LD and failure to adhere to the conceptual and operational definitions of LD has resulted in a situation in which large numbers of students who do not meet generally accepted criteria are nonetheless identified as LD and provided with services in schools (see Algozzine and Ysseldyke 1986; Algozzine, Ysseldyke, and McGue 1995; Kavale 1993; Lyon and Moats 1993; Ysseldyke, Algozzine, Shinn, and McGue 1982). Although there is ambiguity in the operational definition of LD, there are generally accepted criteria that can and should be used to diagnose students as LD (at least one standard deviation discrepancy between IQ and academic achievement; low average and below average standardized achievement test scores in, for example, reading written language).[11]

The findings suggest that self-reported learning difficulties and other unverifiable data (data for which no written record is available) should not be used as the basis for diagnosing LD or recommending substitution or waiver of the FL requirement. Criticisms of the use of unreliable and unverifiable criteria such as self-reports to exempt students who experience FL learning problems from the FL requirement, or to identify students as LD, have been made previously (Sparks, Ganschow, and Javorsky 1995; Sparks, Javorsky, and Ganschow 1995).[12] Here, we argue that technically sound procedures based on current research in the FL literature are now available to diagnosticians.[13] Sparks, Ganschow, and their colleagues recommend that a thorough assessment include qualitative reviews of a student's developmental, academic, and FL learning histories as well as administration of aptitude and achievement tests. (See Ganschow and Sparks 1993; Sparks and Ganschow 1993a,b; Sparks, Ganschow, and Javorsky 1992, for a description of assessment procedures.) If students are experiencing FL learning problems, they should have both a verifiable

history of native language learning problems (such as difficulties with reading, spelling, written language) and a standardized test profile that shows weaknesses in both native language skills and FL aptitude. In particular, the diagnostician should look for the following signs: deficits in phonological/orthographic processing in reading and spelling, problems with grammar and syntax in writing, difficulties with vocabulary in written and oral language, and a low level of FL aptitude.[14] Because of the language-based nature of most FL learning problems, it is important to assess all aspects of the language function: expressive and receptive; and reading, writing, listening, and speaking.

We also suggest that the MLAT not be used as the sole criterion to determine either the diagnosis of LD or to recommend substitution or waiver of the FL requirement. Our conclusion is based on the inference that a single test (IQ, aptitude, achievement) cannot provide the information necessary to determine the basis for a diagnosis of a handicap, nor can one test alone determine the presence of the types of native language problems we suggest are likely to be at the "core" of FL learning problems (i.e., problems with the phonological/ orthographic, syntactic, and/or semantic components of language). Further, the MLAT should not be used as the basis for calculating an IQ-achievement discrepancy because the MLAT is an aptitude measure and not an achievement test; therefore, its use in implementing the discrepancy criterion for LD is not a psychometrically sound procedure.

Implications for Universities and University Service Providers

One implication for universities and their service providers is that if they are going to use substantiation of a LD as their criterion for substitution or waiver, they should insist that petitioning students meet currently accepted criteria for the diagnosis of LD (verifiable histories of native language learning problems, low standardized achievement test scores, a minimum of one standard deviation discrepancy between IQ and academic achievement). Low IQ or low achievement test scores alone should not be the criteria for diagnosis of LD. When universities and service providers do not adhere to strict guidelines, the number of students who petition for substitution or waiver of the FL requirement is likely to increase, thereby expanding the parameters of the LD concept but, at the same time, undermining the concept. Further, the guidelines for receiving a petition for substitution from or waiver of the FL requirement may continue to expand, a situation that will ultimately decrease the number of students

taking FL courses and contribute to even more complex problems for university personnel working in the petition process.

Furthermore, universities and university service providers should closely monitor the reason for referral to the LD Coordinator. Our reason for identifying this variable is that the type of referral may be one indicator that the student is experiencing difficulties only with a FL course. In this study, 63 percent of the petition group were referred only for FL learning problems and only 37 percent had a previous diagnosis of LD. Students without a history of LD need careful documentation that they have a history of and current difficulties with native language learning.

Universities and their service providers should encourage students to take FL courses early in their college careers rather than wait until their junior and senior years. Regardless of the outcome, the very length of the petition process may cause students to delay graduation. Successful petitioners may need to take three or four substitution courses, while students judged not to be LD still have to complete the language requirement. Another problem with late-filing students is they may engender the suspicion that they may simply be trying to avoid the FL requirement.

Universities and university service providers should insist on a rigorous process for students to show that they cannot fulfill the FL requirement. For example, the university could require a student to receive formal tutoring in the FL course before a referral is made for diagnostic testing and the filing of a petition. The university could also require a student to persist in taking the FL course to completion to determine whether he or she can pass the course and fulfill the requirement. The service provider could also contact the FL instructor to determine if the student has exhibited levels of effort and motivation that are consistent with the effort needed to pass the course (attends class, asks instructor for assistance). In our view, multiple grades of Withdrawal alone should not be considered as evidence that a student cannot fulfill the FL requirement.

Likewise, universities must establish and make available clearly articulated policies and procedures for the process by which a student petitions for substitution or waiver of the FL requirement. The process should be found easily in university publications and be made known to FL faculty, university staff, advisors, and tutors. The process should describe the network of "key players" (the Office of Learning Assistance, Dean of a particular division, faculty in the FL departments) who are the contact persons in the petition process. The policy and procedures should be applied consistently across divisions within a university.

In our view, universities and university service providers should not base course substitution and waiver policies solely on whether a student is diagnosed as LD. In this study only slightly more than one-third of the petition students had a previous diagnosis of LD, yet all of the 97 students were eventually diagnosed as LD. Research literature shows that the history of the LD concept is one of both misuse and abuse. Further, professionals in the diagnostic community are not in agreement on how LDs are to be diagnosed, a point supported by the findings of this study. Thus, basing a substitution/waiver policy solely on a diagnosis of LD may result in the diagnosis of students who do not meet accepted criteria for LD.

Instead of relying solely on a diagnosis of LD, our recommendation is that a student who files for petition or waiver of the FL requirement meet the following criteria. First, the student should have a verifiable history of native language learning difficulties. This criterion can be met by asking the student to provide elementary and secondary school records along with supporting documentation that shows that the student received special services. School records should show low grades (C or lower) in courses that are related to the use and understanding of language (reading, spelling, English). Supporting documentation should show that the student was previously evaluated by a school or by a private diagnostician and subsequently received special education, remedial reading, and/or speech/language services. The student also should have a verifiable history of FL learning difficulties. This criterion can be met by providing school records, which should show low grades (C or lower) in FL courses, and by showing a "record of struggle" in FL courses (letters from FL teachers, a high school counselor, FL tutor, and/or special education teacher). Withdrawal from FL courses can be used as one piece of evidence to indicate struggle to learn the language but should not be permitted to stand alone as evidence of inability to meet the FL requirement. The student should have a verifiable record of recent testing by a diagnostician who administered measures of intelligence, native language skill, and FL aptitude. The criterion used to evaluate the student's test results should be that the test results show at least average intelligence and low scores on measures of FL aptitude and native language skill. Here, we do not provide "cut-off scores" (the test scores that a student should achieve to receive a waiver or substitution). However, we note that empirical research over several studies has shown that students who achieve scores below the 35th–40th percentile in FL aptitude and in native language phonology/orthography, syntax, and/or semantics generally experience significant problems with FL learning. This

research has demonstrated that the lower the student's levels of native language skill, the more difficult FL learning will be for him/her.

Implications for FL Educators

FL educators are in a particularly difficult position in the substitution (waiver) process for several reasons. FL educators are generally not cognizant of the criteria for the diagnosis of LD, nor are they trained to evaluate native language skills and FL aptitude. Thus, FL educators typically rely on their observations of the student in the FL classroom (e.g., grades on quizzes and exams, participation in class, perceived effort in the course). One implication of this study is that FL educators need to monitor carefully the performance of the poor FL learners in their classrooms to determine the consistency of their day-to-day performance in the oral and written aspects of the FL.

FL educators should be aware of services provided by their universities to assist students with FL learning problems. For example, if the university is going to require students with FL learning problems to seek tutoring before petitioning for course substitution or waiver, the members of FL departments must know how and where to direct students for tutoring services. FL educators and university service providers could also work together to develop additional services for students experiencing difficulties with FL learning, such as regularly scheduled review sessions.

FL educators also could provide in-service training for their faculty to help them identify more easily those students who have difficulties with FL learning. This training could be provided on a yearly basis for teaching assistants who often teach introductory FL courses. Many students who struggle with FL learning will have histories of and current difficulties with native language learning. In-service training for FL faculty and teaching assistants should include an explanation of classroom accommodations that may prove successful for students who have difficulties with FL learning, such as untimed tests, providing simultaneous oral and written instruction, teaching explicitly the sound-symbol and grammatical system of the FL, and speaking more slowly in the FL.

FL departments could develop and use appropriate accommodations to help students with language learning difficulties fulfill the FL requirement. In our view, the student should still be urged to study a FL rather than, for example, to substitute a culture course. Some FL educators could work with students to provide course accommodations, such as evaluating the student in the course on his/her skill in listening to and speaking but

not reading and writing the language, or making allowances for spelling. Universities could develop alternative courses that slow the pace of instruction for students (such as allowing the student to fulfill one semester of the FL requirement in two semesters). An alternative would be for students to be taught using other methods of FL instruction, such as direct teaching of the sound-symbol and grammatical systems of the FL (see Sparks and Ganschow 1993d: Sparks, et al. 1991, 1992c). The aforementioned adjustments and accommodations would allow the student to take a FL course, and we suspect, be successful in that endeavor.

Conclusion

The LD label carries with it enormous power to influence service providers in Offices of Learning Assistance and FL educators, two groups who are not involved in the process of diagnosing LD but who, because of federal law, must provide modifications to students diagnosed as LD. Sparks, Ganschow and Javorsky (1995) and Sparks, Javorsky, and Ganschow (1995) have used the metaphor of a "sociologic sponge" to describe the sociologic function of the LD concept. Senf (1987) described the LD concept as a "sponge to wipe up regular education's spills and cleanse its ills" (p. 87). He explained that when used as a "sponge," the LD concept tended to absorb a "heterogeneous mess, containing subjects conforming to few knowledgeable persons' concept of LD" (p. 92). Sparks, Ganschow, and Javorsky (1995) speculated that unless rigorous criteria are used to diagnose students with FL learning problems, the "sponge" would also absorb increasing numbers of students who would be much too heterogeneous to permit generalizations about who should be provided with classroom accommodations, course substitutions, or waivers from the FL requirement. Results of the current study lead us to speculate that until diagnosticians adhere to rigorous criteria when labeling students as LD, university support staff and petition committees require verifiable evidence of native and FL learning difficulties, and FL educators become an integral part of documenting FL learning difficulties, the "sponge" will continue to absorb increasing numbers of students who are much too heterogeneous to permit generalizations about who should be provided with classroom accommodations and/or course substitutions. Diagnosticians, university service providers, petition committees, and FL educators will need to work together to seek viable solutions for those students who have inordinate difficulties meeting the FL requirement at the postsecondary level.

Notes

1. The legal definition of LD is found in Public Law 94-142 and states: A disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in understanding or in using language, spoken or written, which may manifest itself in an imperfect ability to listen, speak, read, write, spell, or do mathematical calculations. The term does not include children who have learning problems that are primarily the result of visual, hearing, or motor handicaps, mental retardation, emotional disturbance, or environmental, cultural, or economic disadvantage (Federal Register, 42, 1977, 65083).
2. There were a few students who received permission to fulfill the FL requirement through correspondence courses, but generally these were students close to graduation who needed more substitution courses than the university was offering.
3. There were 11 students older than traditional undergraduate students. Their ages ranged from 29 to 51 years. All 11 students attended one of the university's two branch campuses and petitioned late in their academic careers.
4. The authors thank Mona Burts, Doug Green, and Jennifer Coyne for their assistance in recording the demographic profile data.
5. The WISC-R is administered to students under 16 years of age; the WAIS-R is administered to students 16 years of age and older. If the student's intelligence had been evaluated with the WISC-R, he or she had been evaluated when enrolled in secondary school.
6. In the four cases in which students had received no standardized testing, two had been diagnosed as LD as a result of evaluation at an Irlen Lens Clinic. Two students had been diagnosed as LD as a result of evaluation by either a medical doctor or a registered nurse. In the latter two cases, the two students had been diagnosed as having Attention Deficit Disorder and not LD.
7. Although the WJ-R: Dictation subtest has numerous items that the student must spell correctly, it is not a direct measure of spelling. For example, this measure includes grammar items (use of commas, apostrophes, capitalization, contractions, plurals) and other items on which misspellings are acceptable.
8. In the authors' view, the difference in the students' Dictation and Writing Samples subtest scores is likely due to the differences in scoring criteria for the two subtests. For example, on the Dictation subtest, a student is judged on his or her precise use of a particular

grammatical skill or on whether he or she correctly spells a word; each item is scored right or wrong. On the Writing Samples subtest, a student is asked to write a sentence after being provided with verbal directions and a picture stimulus. Unlike the Dictation subtest, each item on the Writing Samples subtest is scored as 0, 1, or 2 points based on the qualitative judgment of the examiner who uses scoring criteria provided by the tests' authors. On the Writing Samples subtest, precise use of grammar, capitalization, punctuation, and spelling is not always required nor is the use of these skills always rewarded with a higher score.

9. There are two likely reasons why measures of oral language were not administered as frequently as were measures of reading, mathematics, and written language/spelling. First, oral language measures are generally administered by speech and language pathologists, not psychologists or educational diagnosticians. Second, the age norms of most oral language measures (i.e., the TLC-E and TOAL-2) extend only to 18 years, 11 months. (PPVT-R norms extend through adulthood.) In the present study, most students who were administered a measure of oral language were evaluated when enrolled in high school.
10. Students' high school FL histories, including grades, are self-reported; high school transcripts were not available to the authors.
11. We do not defend the discrepancy concept, which has been criticized by most researchers in the field and has been found to have numerous psychometric problems (see Hessler 1987; Siegel 1989; Stanovich 1991). We suggest only that a discrepancy between IQ and academic achievement is the accepted, standard procedure at this time for operationalizing the conceptual definition of LD found in PL 94-142 (see Note 1).
12. In a recent study, McGuire et al. (1996) find problems with the documentation to become eligible for LD support services at the postsecondary level. Problems include flaws in the comprehensiveness of assessments and the use of testing instruments inappropriate for postsecondary level students.
13. Sparks, Ganschow, and their colleagues have written about and published research in support of their Linguistic Coding Differences Hypothesis (LCDH), which speculates that, for the most part, problems with FL learning are based on problems with native language learning. (See, for example, Ganschow et al. 1991; Sparks 1995; Sparks and Ganschow 1991, 1993b,c, 1995a; Sparks, Ganschow, and

Pohlman 1989). Studies show that students with overt or subtle problems with native language learning have difficulty with FL learning and that students with significantly stronger native language skills achieve both higher grades and higher levels of oral and written proficiency in the FL than students with significantly weaker native language skills (Ganschow et al. 1991, 1994; Ganschow and Sparks 1995, 1996; Sparks and Ganschow 1993d, 1995b, 1996; Sparks et al. 1992a,b,c, 1996, in press). Sparks, Ganschow et al. suggest that a plausible diagnosis of FL learning problems should be made on the basis of reliable and verifiable evidence showing that a student has a history of significant problems with one or more aspects of native language learning. Evidence may include but must not be limited to students' self-reports.

14. Sparks, Ganschow, and Javorsky hypothesized that there is not a discrete entity such as a "FL learning disability" because language learning exists on a continuum from very good to very poor language learners and the "cut off point" for a "FL learning disability" along this continuum would be arbitrary (Sparks, Ganschow, and Javorsky 1993). Further, one would have to calculate a discrepancy between a student's IQ and a FL achievement measure as one way to determine the presence of a "FL learning disability" (if the standard definition of LD is followed). To our knowledge, standardized measures of FL achievement are not available at this time.

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Appendix

Alphabetical Listing of Testing Instruments Used by Evaluators

Aptitude

Modern Language Aptitude (MLAT)

Tests FL aptitude using a simulated format to provide an indication of probable degree of success in learning a FL; includes five subtests: Part I (Number Learning); Part II (Phonetic Script); Part III (Spelling Clues); Part IV (Words in Sentences); and Part V (Paired Associates)

Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised (WAIS-R)

Tests general intelligence; 12 subscales

Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised (WISC-R)

Tests general intelligence; 12 subscales

Reading

Gray Oral Reading Test-Revised (GORT-R)

Tests oral reading comprehension by having student read paragraphs aloud and respond to five multiple-choice questions following each paragraph

Nelson Denny Reading Test (NELSON)

Tests reading comprehension by having student read silently and respond to multiple-choice questions in a timed format

Peabody Individual Achievement Test (PIAT) — **Reading Comprehension subtest**

Tests reading comprehension by having student read silently a sentence on one page and then selecting the one picture (out of four) on the following page that best represents the meaning of the sentence

Wide Range Achievement Test-Revised (WRAT-R) — **Reading subtest**

Tests skill in reading words out of context

Woodcock-Johnson-Revised (WJ-R) — **Broad Reading Cluster**

Letter-Word Identification Subtest: tests ability to identify isolated words

Passage Comprehension: tests ability to determine a word that would be appropriate in the context of a passage

***Woodcock-Johnson Psychoeducational Battery (WJPB)* — Reading Cluster**

Letter-Word Identification Subtest: tests ability to identify isolated words
Word Attack Subtest: tests ability to read pseudowords
Passage Comprehension: tests ability to determine a word that would be appropriate in the context of a passage

***Woodcock Reading Mastery Test-Revised (WRMT-R)* — Total Test**

Word Identification: tests ability to read isolated words
Word Attack: tests ability to read nonsense (pseudo) words
Word Comprehension: tests ability to read a word and respond orally to items presented in antonym, synonym, and analogy formats
Passage Comprehension: tests ability to determine a word appropriate in the context of a passage

Math

***Wide Range Achievement Test-Revised (WRAT-R)* — Arithmetic Subtest**

Tests skill in counting, reading number symbols, solving oral problems, and performing written arithmetic computation

***Woodcock-Johnson-Revised (WJ-R)* — Broad Mathematics Cluster**

Calculation Subtest: tests skill in performing mathematical calculations
Applied Problems Subtest: tests skill in analyzing and solving practical problems in mathematics

***Woodcock-Johnson Psychoeducational Battery (WJPB)* — Mathematics Cluster**

Calculation Subtest: tests skill in performing mathematical calculations
Applied Problems Subtest: tests skill in analyzing and solving practical problems in mathematics

Written Language/Spelling

Test of Written Language-2 (TOWL-2)

Tests written language skills in both contrived and spontaneous formats; skills tested include vocabulary, spelling, grammar, capitalization, and punctuation

***Wide Range Achievement Test-Revised (WRAT-R)* — Spelling subtest**

Tests performance on writing single words from dictation

***Woodcock-Johnson Psycho-Educational Battery (WJPEB)* — Written Language Cluster**

Dictation Subtest: tests ability to respond in writing to a variety of questions requiring knowledge of punctuation and capitalization, spelling, and usage

Proofing Subtest: tests ability to read a short passage and identify punctuation and capitalization, spelling, or usage errors in the passage

***Woodcock-Johnson-Revised (WJ-R)* — Broad Written Language Cluster**

Dictation Subtest: tests skill in providing written responses to items requiring knowledge of spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and word usage

Writing Samples Subtest: tests skill in writing sentences that are evaluated with respect to quality of expression. The student is generally not penalized for errors in the basic mechanics of writing, such as spelling or punctuation.

Oral Language

Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised (PPVT-R)

Tests receptive vocabulary for standard American English

Test of Adolescent Language-2 (TOAL-2)

Tests skill in oral and written language; includes four areas (listening, speaking, reading, writing) with two subtests (vocabulary, grammar) in each area

Test of Language Competence-Expanded Edition (TLC-E)

Tests oral expressive and receptive language proficiency in semantics, syntax, and pragmatics

Changing Demographics in Foreign Language Study and the Impact upon Two-Year Colleges: A Case Study from Georgia

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Historical Overview

Community colleges, junior colleges, community junior colleges, and freshman-sophomore colleges, known collectively as two-year colleges, are a uniquely U.S. phenomenon. From their inception at the turn of the twentieth century, they democratized higher learning by putting affordable post-secondary education within reach of a great cross-section of society. This innovation also benefited senior colleges. Borchardt (1981) notes that in Georgia, and elsewhere, the early mission of two-year schools complemented that of other institutions by preparing post high-school-age students to transfer to senior or four-year colleges. According to Bahruth and Venditti (1990), this mission benefited senior institutions by enabling them to dedicate themselves to upper-division courses and research.

Soon, however, two-year schools came to be viewed as institutions responsible for educating poorly prepared students. El-Khawas et al. (1988) found that two-year colleges enroll 11 percent of high school seniors with a D average, whereas four-year colleges and universities enroll less than 1 percent of these students. Although controversial, developmental courses prepare students for the transition to regular college courses. These courses have become an important part of the two-year college curriculum offerings, especially for students who did not plan to attend college, as well as for those entering college after a hiatus since high school.

Beginning in the academic year 1973–74, the University System of Georgia required each member institution to organize a Department of Developmental Studies or Learning Support to teach courses in three areas: math, reading, and English (Borchardt 1981). This regulation has remained in effect; at the present time, each of the 34 institutions within the University System continues to offer special developmental courses in the three aforementioned areas. In addition, students who enroll in college without meeting admission criteria in other academic disciplines, most frequently science, social studies, and foreign language, must remediate those deficiencies by earning a grade of C or better in regular college courses, not among the offerings of Developmental Studies or Learning Support.

In the mid-1980s Georgia's educational and political leaders raised admission standards at University System institutions. "And then we blinked," confessed Chancellor Stephen Portch in an article entitled "State Vows to Get—and Stay—Tough," published in *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 14 May 1995. Although students were to have completed a uniform complement of college-preparatory courses in high school prior to admission to Georgia's colleges, many students were admitted without the required courses with the proviso that they pass designated college courses without receiving credit toward graduation. These regulations went into effect in 1988, and the expectation was that the need for developmental courses would diminish soon thereafter. However, on May 14, 1995 *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution* reported that 43 percent of the 1994 entering college freshmen at all colleges and universities were deficient in any combination of reading, math, English, science, social studies, and/or foreign language. The Board of Regents distinguishes between the 30 percent of freshmen placed into courses to develop their skills in reading, math, and/or English and an overlapping 25.3 percent who, in addition to needing development in the three aforementioned areas, may lack high school course work as a prerequisite for college admission.[1] These prerequisite courses include four years of English, two years of algebra, a physical and a lab science, and two sequential years of study in the same foreign language. Chancellor Portch outlined a ten-year plan to divert such students away from senior colleges and universities by requiring that they enter two-year schools. Consequently, the mission of academic departments at two-year colleges has bifurcated: develop the skills of large numbers of students to meet college admission standards and prepare a few non-developmental students to transfer into upper-division courses at four-year institutions.

Because many of the students with deficiencies lack the prerequisite foreign language credits from high school, the question for foreign language faculty becomes: How should instructors teach college-level foreign language courses to students who are highly likely to need remediation in English, reading, and math skills, and who may be enrolled simultaneously in science or social studies courses to remediate deficiencies? Complicating the issue, and perhaps undermining motivation, Roberts (1992) found that low or developmental English ability students often refute the need for a college foreign language requirement. McGrath and Spear (1991, p.10) compare the mission of remediation at two-year institutions to that of a safety valve, alleviating pressure from universities. They ask, "Can we take large numbers of students, many who have failed in school in the past, who have little confidence in themselves, and help them develop strong academic abilities?" In a telephone conversation in July of 1995, Donna Wilson, the two-year college representative to the Executive Board of the Association of Departments of Foreign Languages, likened the role of foreign language faculty at two-year institutions to teaching the last two years of high school, rather than to teaching the first two years of college. Although the establishment of two-year colleges was originally intended to prepare students to enter upper-division courses at four-year colleges and universities, that mission is changing as a direct result of more stringent college admission criteria. Simply stated, foreign language faculty at two-year colleges are remediating high school deficiencies.

Pine Crest College: A Case Study

Pine Crest College[2] is a two-year unit of the University System of Georgia. Although the present study profiles one institution, the findings were verified with and found to be similar to those of other two-year colleges in Georgia. The mission statement of Pine Crest College reflects its dual role, serving both the needs of local communities and those of the larger University System of Georgia. As is characteristic of two-year colleges, Pine Crest has a flexible or open admissions policy, admitting students who demonstrate potential for success in the programs to which they seek admission and helping those who do not demonstrate this potential through developmental courses (Gabert 1991). Pine Crest offers non-credit or leisure courses, certificate programs in secretarial skills, and lower-division courses in preparation for college and university transfer. This diversity is typical of two-year schools nationwide and reflects the fact

that many students enrolled in two-year colleges do not intend to complete a four-year degree (Berman et al. 1990; Gabert 1991). Although the numbers may be growing, in 1988 El-Khawas et al. found that nationally only 16 percent of students planning to obtain a baccalaureate degree begin their college studies by enrolling in a two-year school.

Because none of the degree programs or professional certificate programs offered at Pine Crest requires students to study a foreign language, many students do not enroll in foreign language courses. Furthermore, many four-year institutions do not have a specified foreign language requirement; instead, students may opt for various combinations of music, art, drama, speech, or literature courses to complete the humanities component of the curriculum. This represents an even more extreme version of Huber's (1992) findings and reinforces her conclusions that by not requiring language courses beyond the secondary level, post-secondary institutions convey the message that students need not continue foreign language study in college.

Students with two or more years of high school credits in foreign language who choose to continue studying the same language at Pine Crest are encouraged to skip the first, 101-level language course and begin with the second of three courses in the first-year sequence; however, enrollment beyond the first course is low. For academic years 1991–1994, an average of 9.39 students per class enrolled in courses beyond the first course in the first-year sequence, for an average of 32 students per year. During the quarters of peak enrollment, between 1.20 percent and 2.14 percent of the entire student body enrolled in French, German, and Spanish classes beyond the first course. Again, this is in keeping with Huber's (1993) finding that enrollment in advanced language courses at two-year colleges is generally common only in institutions with more than 5,000 students where six or more languages are offered.

The profile of the first foreign language (101-level) course at Pine Crest is similar to that of other two-year schools across Georgia. With few exceptions, this course serves students who have not met college admission criteria.[3] These students must earn a grade of C or better, but they do not receive course credit toward graduation. Of all students enrolling at Pine Crest in the fall quarters of academic years 1991–1994, an average of 22.25 percent had not met admission requirements for foreign language study. This figure is 27.18 percent when controlling for students exempted from admission requirements, which was the case with students who earned a GED prior to 1988, students who were foreign, non-American

students, or those who were nursing degree students. However, of all entering freshmen who did not meet one or more admission criteria, an average of 69.04 percent needed to take a foreign language course.

Numbers mask other factors that should be discussed. In theory, students may enter Georgia's two-year colleges lacking in as many as five areas required for admission to four-year institutions: math, science, English, social studies, and foreign language. Additionally, students with less than a B average in high school, regardless of course work, may be required to enroll in developmental reading, math, or English courses. Most students enrolled in foreign language courses to meet admission criteria lacked high school course work in three compound areas: math, science, and foreign language. There was one instance of a student at Pine Crest who passed a foreign language course after enrolling in nine developmental English, reading, and math courses. For the academic years 1991–1994, SAT scores of those students required to take foreign language to meet admission criteria, regardless of other combinations of deficiencies, averaged 663,[4] 324 verbal and 338 math, or approximately the 18th and 14th percentile, respectively. The average for those without foreign language deficiencies was 831. These figures compare with the 1994 national average of high school seniors of 902, 423 verbal and 479 math, reported in the 2 June 1995 *Chronicle of Higher Education*, and a University System of Georgia average of 850.[5]

Success in courses taken to remediate high school deficiencies requires passing the course with a grade of C or better. On average, the success rate of such students in foreign language courses on the first attempt is 48 percent. Approximately 11 percent withdraw from courses and do not enroll at a later time at the same institution. Typically, for every foreign language class of 35 developmental students, four withdraw, 15 pass, and 16 fail. One variable in student success is the number of required developmental English, reading, or math courses students have taken. Students who take one developmental course prior to enrolling in a foreign language course have a 60 percent passing rate; and those who take two courses have a 47 percent passing rate. These rates would seem to show that students can successfully exit a foreign language course on the first attempt if they enter a two-year college needing only minor skill development. However, the success rate drops to 33 percent for students who enroll in three or more developmental courses prior to attempting a foreign language course. One reason may be the increased likelihood that these students are enrolled in multiple courses to develop their skills in English, their first language.

Beyond first attempts in a given course, data are almost impossible to gather because many students switch languages, change schools, change programs of study, or leave college altogether. However, faculty members estimate that half of the second-attempt students pass, regardless of whether they remain in the same language or switch languages. What is certain, however, is that successful students rarely enroll in classes beyond the first course. During the academic years 1991–1994, 436 developmental students enrolled in the first of three sequential, first-year courses in French, German, and Spanish. Of the students who passed, only 18 attempted the second course in the sequence; and of that number six passed on either the first or second attempt. Of the six, one attempted and passed the third course. In sum, over the course of three years, only one student who began as a developmental student successfully completed the three courses in the first-year foreign language sequence. These attrition rates seem to be similar to those of small community colleges outside of Georgia, as reported by Maceri (1993). It is clear from these numbers that foreign language programs at two-year colleges do not have as their central mission the preparation of students for transfer into upper-division courses at four-year institutions; instead, they primarily remediate high school deficiencies.

Data detailing how many students who successfully completed the first course then transferred into the next sequential course at a four-year institution were not available; however, anecdotal evidence from students suggests that they have great difficulty completing a sequence of courses because they forget what they have learned during the interim between meeting admission criteria and completing the two-year degree and their subsequent transfer to a four-year college. Many choose to enroll in degree programs at four-year colleges that do not have foreign language admission or graduation requirements.

Implications

Extrapolating from Huber's (1996) findings showing increased enrollment in two-year colleges in states in which four-year schools required foreign language study as part of the admission criteria, Georgia's two-year schools may soon experience increased enrollment in the basic, introductory foreign language courses. According to Fountain (1993), by virtue of both their proximity to the local community and their affiliation with four-year colleges and universities, two-year institutions are "uniquely positioned"

(p. 260) to articulate the needs of both secondary and post-secondary institutions.

One example of how a two-year college is attempting to meet these needs is Held's (1994) proposed developmental Spanish course. This course, entitled Foundations of Foreign Languages: Spanish, is designed to help students who are ineligible to enroll in a regular Spanish course because they are deficient in English skills. Held describes the goal of this course as preparing students to be successful in Spanish 101. Instructors teach study skills, grammar concepts, and contrastive analysis in addition to lecturing and leading practice and drills. There are also plans for a self-paced, student-centered course as technology becomes available. Among the proposed benefits Held outlines are reduction in teaching load, improved English skills in students, and improved transition to the regular college courses.

A similar course might work well in Georgia, easing the transition into a credit-bearing course, and improving the current 48 percent success rate cited above. Since this would be a developmental, rather than a credit-awarding course, individual institutions could design the course to meet the needs of their students and circumstances. Sections could be stratified to distinguish between students who had partially completed the two-year high school requirement, those with no prior foreign language study, and those needing simultaneous development of basic skills in English and/or reading.

In addition to shifting student demographics, faculty changes must be addressed. Gabert (1991) predicts that there will be a shortage of faculty in the next decade, with approximately 40 percent of the faculty at two-year institutions retiring by the year 2000. Compounding this problem is a phenomenon that Roueche (1968) described almost 30 years ago: faculty at two-year colleges are perceived to be professionally inferior to colleagues at four-year institutions. Recently, faculty at Pine Crest have been required to earn doctorates as a condition for retention, promotion, and tenure, but this attempt at improving faculty credentials has had unexpected results. Soon after completing a doctoral degree, one faculty member left Pine Crest and accepted a position where he had opportunities to teach in his areas of expertise, rather than continue to teach introductory courses; another, unwilling to complete a doctorate, left Pine Crest to teach high school. Their vacant positions were subsequently staffed by part-time and non-tenure-track faculty.[6] Given the fact that instructors with non-terminal master's degrees successfully staffed these positions, perhaps it is

not always wise to require that two-year faculty hold doctorates. It might be argued that Developmental Studies and Learning Support faculty are not required to earn doctorates;[7] therefore, the same should be true for foreign language faculty whose teaching responsibilities are developmental in nature.

Evaluation of faculty is always a controversial topic, and for foreign language faculty at two-year schools this may be doubly true. Huber (1993) found that foreign language programs at two-year colleges are often housed in heterogenous divisions along with humanities, English, and fine arts. In instances in which administrators cannot judge a faculty member's foreign language ability, they may evaluate other aspects of overall performance, most notably the passing rate of students, end-of-term grades, and comments on student evaluations. If given only the statistics described earlier, a faculty member may suffer under the appearance that introductory foreign language courses at Pine Crest are extremely difficult and that they demoralize students. Although it has not been the case at Pine Crest, colleagues at other two-year colleges in Georgia report that they were given negative performance evaluations by administrators because of low student success rates and acerbic comments on student evaluation forms.

It has been documented that students often use course evaluations as a vehicle for registering global complaints and frustrations that are not directly related to the particular course being evaluated. Cashin (1983) warns that two-year faculty are especially vulnerable to uninformed comments because of the profile of the students they teach. These students, he argues, may read at a level below that at which the evaluation forms are written, or be unfamiliar with the vocabulary. In addition, Cashin states that students are not equipped to judge a number of aspects of teaching. Among issues of particular importance to foreign language faculty who teach developmental students are those relating to an instructor's knowledge of the field, class size, student motivation for taking the course, and whether the course is as comprehensive or challenging as it should be. At Pine Crest, students are asked to evaluate all of these except class size.

Conclusions

The Board of Regents' decision to enforce admission standards at four-year institutions is changing foreign language programs at Georgia's two-year colleges, requiring faculty to assume a role that is increasingly

developmental in purpose. Moreover, given that the success rate of students in their first attempt to remediate foreign language deficiencies in regular college courses is slightly less than 50 percent, two-year colleges in Georgia may need to develop and implement special foreign language courses whose objective is to improve students' transition into regular credit-bearing courses. These courses could be based upon models of similar courses currently offered in developmental English, reading, and math, as well as the course described by Held (1994). Provisions may need to be made to allow two-year colleges in Georgia to hire and retain faculty to teach such developmental courses who may not necessarily hold a terminal, doctoral degree.

Notes

1. These figures were cited in a draft of a proposed policy directive on admissions suppled by the Board of Regents.
2. Those supplying data for and confirming findings of this study asked that I keep their identity, along with the identity of the institution, in confidence. A preliminary draft of this article and excerpts were read and approved by informants prior to submission for publication.
3. Figures were not available, but instructors estimated that approximately five non-deficient students per year enroll in 101 courses. These students are generally either foreign (non-American) students, or they studied another language in high school. On occasion students enroll in 101 courses despite having two or more years of high school credit. Most commonly these students have had a lapse of several years between high school study and college admission, or they attempted a higher-level language course without success.
4. Actual scores are reported in multiples of ten; therefore, the mean score of 324.0877 is closest to 320 (18th percentile) and 338.3686 is closest to 340 (14th percentile) on the pre-1995 scale.
5. The University System average is taken from the same document cited in end note 2.
6. In phone interviews in June 1996, faculty members at Pine Crest explained the reasons that the two aforementioned foreign language instructors left the college and the difficulties encountered by search committees when trying to fill the vacancies.

7. It should be noted that these faculty members are usually non-tenure-track employees, however, and may be promoted only as high as assistant professor. Nevertheless, by virtue of their non-tenure track status, they are not held to the same standards for publication, service, and professional development as are tenure-track faculty.

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Communication Policy for a Unique Bilingual Community: The National Technical Institute for the Deaf

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The National Technical Institute for the Deaf (NTID) at Rochester Institute of Technology in Rochester, New York, is a bilingual academic community.[1] American Sign Language (ASL) and English are recognized as the two languages of this community. However, students and faculty in this officially bilingual environment, who have diverse professional and educational backgrounds as well as a variety of personal communication preferences and skills, use a range of contact languages and communication modes. This paper presents an overview of this diversity and the ways the faculty and the Institute work to support this unique bilingual community.

We present a description of the unique language-learning community at the National Technical Institute for the Deaf. This uniqueness applies both to the students who come from a variety of educational and language backgrounds, and to the faculty who are actively involved in the development and overseeing of NTID's Communication Policy. Like other post-secondary institutions, NTID has standard university guidelines for tenure and promotion. In addition, it has a Communication Policy that requires levels of proficiency in ASL of its faculty. Faculty come to NTID with various levels of proficiency in ASL. Some proficiency in ASL is a consideration for employment at NTID, a consideration that is unique among postsecondary educational institutions. The Communication

Policy is an attempt to address these varying levels of proficiency and is an integral part of the annual faculty performance review.

We begin with an overview of American Deaf culture and the complicated language choices in that culture. Then we introduce the college and the students who enroll there and present a closer look at the members of the faculty. We also explain NTID's role in providing faculty members with opportunities to learn ASL, to assess their levels of proficiency, and to foster research in the field. The discussion then continues with an in-depth explanation of this innovative Communication Policy.

The Deaf Community

We begin by explaining the difference between *deaf* people and *Deaf* people. This difference was originally proposed by Woodward (1972), using the lower case *deaf* when referring to the audiological condition of not hearing and the uppercase *Deaf* when referring to those people who share a language (i.e., ASL) and a culture. The members of this latter group use ASL as a "primary means of communication among themselves, and hold a set of beliefs about themselves and their connection to the larger society" (Woodward 1972, p. 1). The culture of Deaf people in the United States and Canada "like many other cultures in the traditional sense of the term, [was] historically created and [is] actively transmitted across generations" (Padden and Humphries 1988, p. 2). ASL, the language of Deaf people, is a visual/gestural language that Lucas and Valli (1992) describe as "a natural language with an autonomous grammar that is completely independent from the grammar of English and from the systems devised to represent English manually" (p. 16).

The language situation becomes quite complex and complicated, however, when Deaf people interact with deaf people and with hearing people in work, social, and educational environments. Often the choice between ASL and spoken English is neither a clear nor a natural one, but "is shaped by the characteristics of the users in a contact situation and by the varieties of language available to those users" (Lucas and Valli 1992, p. 6). One of these "varieties" is the category of contrived signing systems developed by educators to teach and visually model spoken English. Such systems may incorporate some features of ASL in English word order. Other possible varieties include: English signing with speech, often referred to as simultaneous communication (which may also include some features of ASL); ASL (the natural language); and spoken English (without

signs). This situation of language contact is unique to the interaction of a signed and a spoken language. Two individuals in a spoken-language contact situation exhibit linguistic outcomes that include code switching, foreigner talk, and lexical borrowing of different kinds. Two individuals in a signed-language contact situation would probably exhibit examples of code switching and code mixing (Lucas and Valli 1992). However, the contact between a spoken language and a signed language presents a unique situation in which "the terms that have been used to define spoken language contact phenomena, such as borrowing, cannot be indiscriminately applied" because of the difference in modalities:

> If we consider the outcomes of contact between a sign language and a spoken language literally in terms of spoken language criteria, a description of code switching, for example, means that the person literally stops signing and starts speaking, at a sentence boundary. There exists abundant anecdotal evidence that [this situation occurs]. (Lucas and Valli p. 39)

At NTID, this language situation in a post-secondary environment demands a level of proficiency in ASL that takes into account this diversity of contact language. Classes at NTID often contain both deaf students who prefer a combination of spoken English and signed English and Deaf students who prefer ASL. To complicate the issue even further, many teachers are second-language learners of ASL who attempt to communicate effectively with this array of contact languages. These issues have enormous impact on the design and provision of appropriate training as well as on the expectations of proficiency levels for these second-language learners, these teachers of deaf students. When one is proficient in both ASL and English, one has more flexibility to effectively adjust or adapt to a wide range of communication skills and choices.

> It seems that instruction in ASL will provide [second-language] students the most access to whatever they may encounter. If they are taught ASL, they will be able to understand contact signing, which will sometimes naturally occur. On the other hand, if they are taught contact signing, they will probably not be able to understand ASL. (Lucas and Valli p. 119)

The Institute and Its Students

Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT), founded in 1829, is a leader in career-oriented education as well as in cooperative education. It offers one

of the oldest and largest co-op programs in the world. RIT is a coeducational, privately endowed institution, enrolling 12,637 full and part-time graduate and undergraduate students preparing for technical and professional careers. Its eight colleges include Applied Science and Technology, Business, Continuing Education, Engineering, Imaging Arts and Sciences, Liberal Arts, Science, and the primarily federally funded National Technical Institute for the Deaf (NTID). NTID is the first college for deaf students established on a campus designed principally for hearing students. It was created in 1965 by an act of Congress and is the world's largest technological college for deaf students. Nearly 1,100 college-age deaf students from all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and several U.S. territories study and reside on the RIT campus. In addition, NTID enrolls approximately 75 international deaf students.

NTID's mission is to educate deaf students and prepare them for careers, conduct research into employment-related education, and share its knowledge and expertise through outreach and other information-dissemination programs. The college offers more than 30 technical programs, such as applied accounting, applied art and computer graphics, photo/media technologies, and engineering technologies. In addition to the diplomas, certificates, and associate degrees that may be earned through NTID, qualified deaf students may also earn a bachelor's or master's degree in more than 200 programs offered by RIT's seven other colleges.

Students who study at NTID are encouraged to use the communication method of their choice, including American Sign Language, signed English, and/or spoken communication. These students come from various linguistic backgrounds and vary widely in their levels of language proficiency. Most of the deaf students attending NTID have hearing parents, which is a reflection of the larger deaf community: approximately 91 percent of deaf adults have hearing parents (Schein and Delk 1974). This means that approximately 9 percent of deaf students have deaf (probably Deaf) parents. The hearing parent-deaf child interaction has a profound impact on the student's language choice and proficiency. "Deaf children of deaf parents seem to acquire language better than deaf children of hearing parents" (Schlesinger and Meadow 1972, p. 33). Add to this linguistic background the diverse educational experiences NTID students bring with them, and one can begin to see the complexity of the "communication method of choice." Students who attended residential schools for the deaf usually learned ASL from peers (Deaf children of Deaf parents) or from

the few teachers and/or staff who were Deaf. Students who were in mainstream programs or classes for the deaf in public schools may have learned any one of those "varieties" discussed above from hearing teachers and/or interpreters (who are themselves second-language learners).

Faculty of NTID make every effort to meet the diverse communication needs of deaf students in this contact situation by using communication strategies that may include sign language (ASL and the varieties of contact languages), speech, fingerspelling, writing, and other visual aids. This presents a challenge to the faculty, particularly when they encounter all of these different communication methods in one classroom and particularly when their level of proficiency in ASL (their second language) may not be high enough for them to move flexibly among communication modes while still retaining overall communicative coherence. The faculty at NTID has addressed this challenge in the following ways: (1) recognizing that teaching effectiveness in this unique educational setting requires knowledge, skill, and fluency with various communication methods; (2) articulating this expectation through the college's Communication Policy; (3) supporting this expectation with assessment, training, and research; and (4) reflecting this expectation in the college's tenure and promotion guidelines and criteria.

The Faculty

Faculty members join NTID with varying backgrounds; many of them bring substantial experience from the private sector that directly connects to the more than 30 technical programs offered at the college. As of January 1996, there were approximately 294 faculty members in the college, 234 of whom held tenure-track positions; 86 percent of them were tenured. Senior-level faculty members at the professor and associate professor ranks comprise 59 percent of all ranked tenure-track faculty, leaving about 41 percent (100 assistant professors and 11 instructors) at junior faculty rank. As one can see, these numbers show that the majority of faculty are already tenured and have most likely achieved their highest rank. This situation presents a challenge for NTID and the faculty to design and foster opportunities that lead and motivate senior tenured faculty members to higher levels of proficiency in this second language.

Of the 234 full-time tenure-track faculty members, 198 are hearing and 36 are deaf. With regard to their educational backgrounds, 77 hold terminal degrees in their fields, 150 hold master's degrees, and seven have

bachelor's degrees. Currently, the average age of the tenure-track faculty member is 48 years and the average length of employment at NTID is 16.4 years. The number of newly hired faculty members has decreased over the years. In 1979, there were 11 new faculty hired to full-time tenure-track positions, whereas in 1984 there was a sharp drop to only four new hires. Ten years later in 1994, three full-time faculty were hired. Of the 11 new faculty hired in 1979, only one had one year of experience with deafness. In 1984, out of the four hired, one faculty member had one year of experience with deafness and another had 11 years. In 1994, all three who were hired had some experience with deafness (one year, 11 years, and 14 years) (NTID 1994 Annual Report, pp. 53–57). These numbers serve to emphasize that very few current faculty need to learn a "new" language, presenting a challenge for those who "teach" these faculty members. Those in the field of second-language learning may question why there continues to be a need for teaching ASL as a second language at NTID. Perhaps a bit of historical perspective will shed some light on this issue.

When NTID was established in 1965, the prevailing attitude in the United States toward deaf people, Deaf culture, and ASL was quite different from today. ASL had just been recognized as a language by academia (Stokoe 1960). The teaching and researching of ASL as a foreign/second language became an area of study that led to new literature and to pride in the language of the Deaf community, and laid the groundwork for academic programs in Deaf Studies. However, deaf individuals in the United States were viewed as "handicapped" and "in need of help." Primary and secondary educational opportunities for deaf students were limited mostly to state schools for the deaf. Gallaudet University (then Gallaudet College), founded in 1864 in Washington, D.C., was the only major institution of higher learning for deaf people in the country. With the advent of civil rights legislation in the late 1970s for handicapped citizens, the increase in mainstream programs expanded educational opportunities for deaf students.

Sign language programs for faculty at NTID in the early years were state-of-the-art; the accepted approach to teaching ASL as a second language was to teach within the structure of English word order. This approach sometimes supported speaking while signing. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, NTID began developing a sign language curriculum based on the direct experience method, in which ASL grammar and cultural information were an integral part. Videotapes, books, and other

support materials were developed to provide information on different academic disciplines (e.g., technical signs for physics, chemistry, biology). These curriculum materials often formed the foundation of sign language classes across the country.

Over time, as academic research influenced actual pedagogical approaches to teaching ASL and as deaf people became more involved in the research of their own language, the accepted approach to teaching ASL as a second language more closely followed the teaching methods of spoken languages. Total immersion classes became quite common and new curriculum materials continued to be developed. The reality of adapting and adjusting to pedagogical approaches to teaching and learning ASL continues to be a challenge for everyone in the NTID community. The next section of this paper describes this challenge.

Communication Policy

Establishment

Along with this increased knowledge and awareness of Deaf culture, community, and ASL, there was a growing concern among deaf students, faculty, and the administration regarding access to their educational and work experiences at NTID/RIT. In response to this issue, and in an attempt to respond to the faculty's desire for clear and concise guidelines regarding communication skills, the dean of NTID appointed a faculty task force in the fall of 1987 to develop recommendations for expectations and guidelines for faculty communication skill development. In June of 1990, the task force submitted its final report to the dean, who in turn presented it to the faculty for ratification. This report included recommendations for ways in which the college could foster opportunities for full and equal participation by all members of the NTID community in college affairs. NTID faculty members are now required to develop sign language expressive and receptive skills and spoken communication strategies and techniques. The Communication Policy ratified by the faculty stated:

> [NTID faculty] will strive for, achieve, and maintain the ability to communicate in sign language at a level of vocabulary, grammatical accuracy, comprehension, and fluency that allows faculty to participate effectively in communication situations applicable to work and social topics [and] will strive for, achieve, and maintain the ability to use spoken communication strategies and techniques. (NTID CTF, p. 17)

Individual faculty members are responsible for developing annual documentation to show good-faith efforts in two areas: 1) participation in learning activities and efforts to develop communication skills and sensitivity to Deaf cultural issues, and 2) development of communication skills. This proposal was adopted by faculty vote and a three-year transition period was initiated. The dean appointed faculty members to serve on a Steering Committee on Communication (SCC) whose charge was to:

> . . . provide the mechanism to ensure that a comprehensive, multifaceted, well-coordinated institutional plan exists for the delivery of learning activities related to sign language development, cultural issues related to deafness, and spoken communication techniques and strategies. (DeCaro 1991, p. ii)

At the same time, the Office of Communication Assessment Services (OCAS) was established. Its function was as follows:

> . . . [to] coordinate, manage and evaluate activities related to administering assessment of sign language and to be a clearinghouse of information on various available resources for faculty/staff to develop their skills in sign communication and to learn spoken communication strategies and techniques. (DeCaro 1991, p. ii)

It was envisioned that OCAS would also "function as a cooperative catalyst with research/evaluation teams as well as work cooperatively with the Steering Committee on Communication" (DeCaro 1991, p. ii). The primary tool for sign language assessment was determined to be the Sign Communication Proficiency Interview (SCPI).

Assessment

The SCPI, an adaptation of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Language's Language Proficiency Interview/Oral Proficiency Interview (ACTFL-LPI) (Caccamise et al. 1988), was adopted by the faculty as a college-wide assessment tool in 1991. Prior to this time, the SCPI was available as an option for individual faculty members to obtain feedback on their signing skills. Faculty receive some feedback on their American Sign Language skills through the process of taking sign language courses, but the SCPI offers a broader perspective on their language use.

> The SCPI is an interview technique. A videotaped conversation with a skilled interviewer is later viewed by three trained raters. The topics of the interview vary according to the interests and communication needs

> of the interviewee. This approach incorporates natural conversational strategies and attempts to put interviewees at ease to allow them to demonstrate the best sample of their communication skills, both expressive and receptive. (Caccamise and Newell 1994, p. 1)

NTID's SCPI team represents the diversity of the language community with members from the Deaf community, deaf, and hearing people. SCPI services are provided to all members of the NTID and RIT community. In keeping with its peer review design, the SCPI team is composed of both faculty and staff. The OCAS oversees this entire process including a follow-up meeting between the faculty member and an SCPI team member to review SCPI results and discuss options for continued sign language skill development. The implementation and administration of SCPI services continue to reflect the involvement and participation of faculty in this crucial aspect of their Communication Policy. Since 1982, 149 or 67 percent of the current tenure-track faculty members have taken the SCPI. More than half of this number have taken the SCPI since the establishment of OCAS in the spring of 1992. The faculty has achieved the following ratings on the SCPI. (See the Appendix for a description of the levels in the SCPI rating scale.)

Table 1.

Faculty Ratings on the SCPI

Level	Frequency
Superior Plus	2
Superior	20
Advanced Plus	13
Advanced	31
Intermediate Plus	36
Intermediate	32
Survival Plus	11
Survival	4
Novice Plus	0
Novice	0
Total	149

NTID Faculty/Staff Communication Database (1996)

Of those who have taken the SCPI (as of January 1996), 68 percent have achieved a rating of Intermediate Plus or above, the minimum rating required for tenure. As explained earlier in this paper, the average length of faculty employment is currently 16.4 years. The number of new hires at NTID has dropped significantly over the years, and those who have been hired recently bring with them some previous experience with deafness. This would account for the few faculty members in the Novice to Survival Plus range.

Training

In keeping with the recommendations from the Communication Task Force, NTID's training department offers courses for faculty to develop their sign language skills. The Department of American Sign Language and Interpreting Education (ASLIE) is charged with providing positive and creative approaches to increase sign language competency of the faculty. Regular review and refinement of curriculum and consideration of adult learning theory are incorporated into the instruction and delivery of sign language course offerings. Development of offerings for new and veteran faculty, including both traditional and non-traditional approaches, are a priority. We discuss these offerings later in this paper.

As previously stated, the faculty has the challenge of teaching students with diverse communication skills and preferences. In addition to learning ASL, the faculty is also expected to develop spoken communication strategies and techniques. The Communication Task Force (CTF) cites spoken communication strategies and techniques as critical to effective communication and defines spoken communication as

> speech, with or without voice, used expressively and/or receptively, alone or to complement a message communicated with signs (NTID CTF, p. 27).

Research

The Communication Task Force also recommended that a research and evaluation plan be simultaneously established with the implementation of the Communication Policy. The Research and Evaluation Sub-Committee of the Steering Committee on Communication oversees the establishment of a database to address numerous communication issues, including faculty sign language communication skills, reliability and validity of the SCPI, evaluation of the SCPI process and services, further development

and continued evaluation of the ASL curriculum and services offered by ASLIE. This database and research and evaluation plan ensure ongoing faculty participation in the review of the Communication Policy and recommend refinements and adjustments.

Annual Plan of Work

All NTID faculty members are required to develop an annual plan of work that includes proposed activities for the academic year. The four major activity categories covered in this plan are: 1) area of primary responsibility and associated professional development, 2) communication skill development, 3) professional activities, and 4) campus and community activities. The communication skill development plan includes details of the faculty member's efforts to develop expressive and receptive sign language skills and spoken communication strategies and techniques. The plan is then used as part of the annual appraisal by the department chairperson that serves as the basis for annual merit salary increases, as well as tenure and promotion documentation.

Tenure and Promotion

Rochester Institute of Technology's granting of tenure to its faculty is in keeping with tenure requirements at other academic institutions: the major criterion for awarding tenure is excellence in one's primary area of professional responsibility. However, NTID includes a unique component as a direct result of its Communication Policy: "effective communication with people who are deaf and people who are hearing in all modalities and sensitivity to deaf cultural issues" (p. E. 1–8). The Institute expectation for NTID faculty is that they "will strive for, achieve, and maintain the ability to communicate in sign language at a level of vocabulary, grammatical accuracy, comprehension, and fluency that allows faculty to participate effectively in communication situations applicable to work and social topics." (NTID CTF, p. 17)

Competency is demonstrated by substantial evidence obtained through documentation of a variety of activities such as: 1) satisfactory completion of courses and seminars related to sign language, spoken communication, cultural knowledge or similar topics; 2) description of progress in courses and seminars (prepared by instructors and/or the individual); 3) evidence of ongoing participation in activities involving people

who are deaf and other activities as determined by the individual faculty member; 4) observations by individuals qualified to assess sign language and spoken communication strategies; 5) student evaluation feedback; and 6) certification from a nationally recognized organization such as the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf[2], or the American Sign Language Teachers Association.[3] (NTID CTF, pp. 17–22)

Tenure documentation must include official results of the Sign Communication Proficiency Interview (SCPI) rating. By tenure review time, an individual is expected to achieve the Intermediate Plus level or higher in sign language skill. The promotion process at NTID also includes expectations for communication skill development. The achievement of a rating of Advanced or higher on the SCPI is a required part of the portfolio for individuals seeking promotion to the associate and full professor ranks.

Current Training at NTID

The *NTID Strategic Plan: An Agenda for Action* (1992) recognizes English and ASL as the languages of the NTID educational community. The Plan also states that faculty, staff, and administrators are committed to recognizing, studying, and using English and ASL as well as understanding and appreciating the diversity of the deaf community and Deaf culture.

The Department of American Sign Language and Interpreting Education (ASLIE)[4] has a clearly defined role in building and maintaining a dynamic and diverse language community. For NTID to become a cohesive language community, it is imperative that each member possess the ability to communicate effectively across the range from English word order with or without speech to ASL. Also, for the language community to be dynamic, each member must be motivated to learn, possess the required knowledge and skills of languages used by the community, and gain an appreciation of cultural diversity.

The department supports the faculty by offering learning opportunities in four strands that complement each other and serve to enhance the functional language learning needs of the faculty. These language learning strands are: 1) language learning, 2) drill/review, 3) experiential, and 4) application.

The language learning strand consists of a sequence of ASL courses ranging from the beginning to advanced levels. Courses within this strand are devoted either to skill development or to knowledge development. The

content is focused on the development of functional skills or knowledge. In addition, the appreciation of the culture of Deaf people and cultural protocol is studied and practiced throughout the strand. The drill/review strand provides intensive practice on specific skills taught in the basic foundation courses. Courses in this strand are appropriate for those who need review or drill on specific language skills, such as sign vocabulary recall or production, and can also serve as a check of specified language features that should be mastered prior to enrolling in the sequence. The experiential/learning strand offers a wide range of activities outside the traditional classroom where language skills are developed in a variety of situations. The application strand facilitates the use of language and knowledge skills needed by the faculty and staff in specialized environments to accomplish specific purposes. This strand includes structured, planned activities such as Classroom Observation for Improved Communication, Strategies for Effective Communication and workshops on such topics as the Adult Second-Language Learner and Adverbial and Adjectival Inflection in ASL. In an attempt to address the particular needs of faculty learners, ASLIE offers a variety of formats for learning ASL, such as traditional courses that follow an established sequence for language learning, workshops that focus on specific features of the language in a one-time lesson, and tutoring where a faculty member receives individualized instruction. The faculty also has the opportunity to use the Self Instruction Lab, which houses materials such as videotapes and interactive video discs that supplement the ASL curriculum.

The curriculum review process allows for collegial feedback on the workshops offered to the general faculty. After peer review within ASLIE, curriculum review for courses is overseen by the Steering Committee on Communication, which brings an Institute-wide perspective to the curriculum. The 1994–95 academic year continues to reflect faculty support and participation of the training component of the Communication Policy. ASLIE offered 24 traditional classes, 24 workshops, and 49 tutoring opportunities. The total enrollment figure of faculty for the year was 232. Bearing in mind that there are 234 full time faculty, this level of participation shows commitment to the Communication Policy.

Conclusion

Accomplishing the goals that NTID has set for itself as a bilingual/bicultural working and learning environment presents an ongoing challenge for

its students and faculty. This paper has set forth the complex issues that make this language and educational community unique. NTID's view of itself has changed since it was established in 1965, as should any dynamic institution's view of itself. These changing views are reflected in the Communication Policy designed and supported by faculty members in response to their own need for clear guidelines with regard to communication skills and to the deaf students' and faculty's concerns with access to the educational and work experience.

Some of the challenges in providing this accessibility for students include addressing the varieties of contact languages. The Department of American Sign Language and Interpreting Education continues to offer and develop training opportunities that meet the needs of their "students" (adult second-language learners who are also teachers of deaf students). As previously mentioned, the average length of stay for tenure-track faculty is approximately 16 years and the average age is 48. In their study of adult learners of ASL at a post-secondary program for deaf students, Lang et al. (1996) have recently shown that "higher achievement in ASL [is] associated with a positive cultural attitude toward deaf people" (p. 137). These factors have a clear impact on the development and delivery of the ASL curriculum. This faculty member is, in many ways, atypical in that he/she brings a variety of previously learned skills to the current language-learning situation. The instructors in ASLIE are responsible for providing a sound, theoretically based curriculum for adult second language learners; these "students" are savvy enough to influence their curriculum, as it complements assessment and research activities. ASLIE is currently surveying the faculty it serves; the basic question is whether ASLIE's courses assist the faculty in appropriately meeting their sign language skill development goals (Reeves et al., in progress).

The sign language assessment process at the college is faculty-driven and supports ongoing refinement and review of the training curriculum and also supports research activities which, in turn, contribute to the continued expansion of the assessment process. Periodic updates on the reliability and validity needs and issues important to communication skills regarding the SCPI are in progress (Caccamise and Newell 1996).

To date, almost half of the faculty has participated in the SCPI process and the college is in the third year of implementation of the Communication Policy. It remains to be seen what impact this participation will have on the quality of the learning and work environment as it

relates to communication accessibility and on the language and communication skills of the faculty. Currently, there is an investigation of the relationship between NTID students' responses to a communication ease survey administered during the end-of-course evaluation and the SCPI ratings of their instructors (Long et al., in progress). These results will provide an additional perspective on the proficiency level of the faculty. During the coming academic year, NTID will begin to investigate communication requirements for the staff who work along with faculty and students.

Throughout the process of development, implementation, and administration of the NTID Communication Policy, input and participation by the faculty have been paramount. If this input and participation by the faculty continue, as is expected, NTID's future will most definitely reflect its Strategic Plan: Agenda for Action that commits the faculty and administration to recognize, study, and use English and American Sign Language and to understand and appreciate the diversity of the deaf community and Deaf culture.

Notes

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2. The Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf is a national organization which has more than 5,000 members involved in the practice of sign language interpreting. RID administers a national evaluation and certification system, maintains state and national registries of certified interpreters, and advocates on behalf of interpreters and interpreting.

3. The American Sign Language Teachers Association is a national organization of professionals involved with teaching American Sign Language. ASLTA was originally formed as the Sign Instructors Guidance Network (SIGN) in 1975 as a section of the National Association of the Deaf. The ASLTA, through its predecessor organization, has been certifying teachers of ASL since 1976.

4. ASLIE houses the NTID faculty/staff sign language program and the interpreter education program (IEP), which offers an AAS in Educational Interpreting to hearing students. This program graduates approximately 20 students every year.

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APPENDIX

Sign Communication Proficiency Interview (SCPI) Rating Scale[a]

Ratings	Functional Descriptors[b]
Superior Plus	*Able to have a fully shared and natural conversation, with in-depth elaboration for both social and work topics.* All aspects of signing are native-like.
Superior	*Able to have a fully shared conversation, with in-depth elaboration for both social and work topics.* Very broad sign language vocabulary, near native-like production and fluency, excellent use of sign language grammatical features, and excellent comprehension for normal signing rate.
Advanced Plus	*Exhibits some superior level skills, but not all and not consistently.*
Advanced	*Able to have a shared conversation with good, spontaneous elaboration for both social and work topics.* Broad sign language vocabulary knowledge and clear, accurate production of signs and fingerspelling at a normal/near-normal rate; occasional misproductions do not detract from conversational flow. Good use of many sign language grammatical features and comprehension good for normal signing rate.
Intermediate Plus	*Exhibits some advanced level skills, but not all and not consistently.*
Intermediate	*Able to discuss with some confidence routine social and work topics within a conversational format with some (adequate) elaboration.* Good knowledge and control of everyday/basic sign language vocabulary

[a] Adapted from U.S. Foreign Service Institute and ACTFL OPI Rating Scales by William Newell and Frank Caccamise.

[b] For all SCPI rating descriptors, the first statement (in italic type) is always a statement of communicative functioning, with all remaining statements (roman type) descriptors of form (vocabulary, production, fluency, grammar, and comprehension).

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(may have several sign misproductions), with fluency generally characterized by moderate signing pace and some inappropriate pauses/hesitations. Demonstrates use of some sign language grammatical features in connected discourse, but not controlled. Fairly good comprehension for a moderate-to-normal signing rate; a few repetitions and rephrasing of questions may be needed.

Survival Plus *Exhibits some Intermediate level skills, but not all and not consistently.*

Survival *Able to discuss basic social and work topics with responses generally 1 to 3 sentences in length.* Some knowledge of basic sign language vocabulary with many sign vocabulary errors. Slow to moderate signing rate with (some) inappropriate pausing. Basic use of a few sign language grammatical features. Fair comprehension for signing produced at a slow to moderate rate with some repetition and rephrasing.

Novice Plus *Exhibits some survival level skills, but not all and not consistently.*

Novice *Able to provide single sign and some short phrase/sentence responses to basic questions signed at a slow to moderate rate with frequent repetition and rephrasing.* Vocabulary primarily related to everyday work and/or social areas such as basic work-related signs, family members, basic objects, colors, numbers, names of weekdays, and time. Production and fluency characterized by many sign production errors and by a slow rate with frequent inappropriate pauses/hesitations.

No Functional Skills *(May be) Able to provide short single sign and "primarily" fingerspelled responses to some basic questions signed at a slow rate with extensive repetition and rephrasing.*

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Part III

Pedagogical Models

The Foreign Language Class: A Forum for Intercultural Communication

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Between 1970 and 1990 the foreign-born population of the United States doubled from 9.74 million to 19.767 million. Including U.S.-born individuals who speak a language other than English at home, language-minority speakers numbered close to 32 million in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1994). This demographic trend is most apparent in cities like Los Angeles and New York where there are high concentrations of immigrants. Public school and university enrollments in these and other urban centers reflect the shifting population patterns. For example, the City University of New York, the largest public urban university system in the country, estimates that by the year 2000 approximately 50 percent of its 208,000 students will have been born outside the United States or in Puerto Rico (CUNY 1995).

The implications of these changing demographic patterns on foreign language instruction are clear. As the traditional model of a monolingual, monocultural student body fades away, instructors need to adapt their teaching styles and strategies to accommodate a new generation of multilingual, multicultural students. It will not be unusual, for example, to find students from Poland, Greece, Korea, and Colombia sitting alongside U.S.-born students in a French class that is being taught by a Haitian-born instructor.

This chapter documents the experience of one foreign language department as it explored the linguistic and cultural diversity of its student body and discovered that diversity in the classroom can be a valuable educational tool rather than a source of conflict, misunderstanding, or confusion, as some might fear. This department found that diversity is a built-in resource that can enrich the language learning experience and transform the foreign language classroom into a forum for intercultural awareness, understanding, and communication.

Table 1.

States with More Than 100,000 Persons Five Years Old and Over Who Speak a Language Other Than English at Home: 1990

State	Number (x 1,000)	Percent of total population
U.S.	31,845	13.8
California	8,619	31.5
Texas	3,970	25.4
New York	3,909	23.3
Florida	2,098	17.3
Illinois	1,499	14.2
New Jersey	1,406	19.5
Massachusetts	852	15.2
Pennsylvania	807	7.3
Arizona	700	20.8
Michigan	570	6.6
Ohio	546	5.4
New Mexico	494	35.5
Connecticut	466	15.2
Virginia	419	7.3
Washington	403	9.0
Maryland	395	8.9
Louisiana	392	10.1
Colorado	321	10.5
Georgia	285	4.8
Wisconsin	264	5.8
Hawaii	255	24.8
Indiana	246	4.8
North Carolina	241	3.9
Minnesota	227	5.6
Oregon	192	7.3
Missouri	178	3.8
Rhode Island	159	17.0
Nevada	146	13.2
Oklahoma	146	5.0
Tennessee	132	2.9
Kansas	132	5.7
Utah	120	7.8
South Carolina	113	3.5
Alabama	108	2.9
Maine	105	9.2
Iowa	100	3.9

U.S. Bureau of the Census 1994

Background

Multilingualism has a historic tradition in the United States,[1] rekindled by the new wave of immigration that began in the 1970s. Figures from the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1994) show that 13.8 percent of the population speak a language other than English at home in 1990 (see Table 1). While every state is affected by this phenomenon, 36 states count more than 100,000 speakers of other languages. Those states with the highest concentrations are New Mexico, 35.5 percent; California, 31.5 percent; Texas, 25.4 percent; Hawaii, 24.8 percent; New York, 23.3 percent; Arizona, 20.8 percent; New Jersey, 19.5 percent; Florida, 17.3 percent; Rhode Island, 17.0 percent; Massachusetts, 15.2 percent; and Connecticut, 15.2 percent.

Table 2 shows the number of persons five years old and over speaking a language other than English at home, by language, in 1990. The 17,339 million Spanish-speakers constituted the largest language-minority group in the country. French, German, Italian, and Chinese each had well over 1.2 million speakers. Those languages that counted 330,000 or more speakers were Tagalog, Polish, Korean, Vietnamese, Portuguese, Japanese, Greek, Arabic, and Hindi (Urdu). Twelve other languages had at least 100,000 speakers. Such linguistic diversity implies even greater cultural diversity since each language group may contain several sub-groups of different ethnic and national origins. Spanish speakers, for example, come from Spain, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba as well as from many other Central and South American countries.

The linguistic and cultural diversity of the general population is reflected in schools and colleges across the country and has particularly significant implications in the foreign language classroom. We can no longer assume that all students come from similar cultural backgrounds and speak English as their native language. To the extent that foreign language instruction compares and contrasts the target language and culture with the learners' native language(s) and culture(s), adjustments have to be made. Instructors need to understand how cultural differences affect such characteristics as learning styles and strategies, tolerance for error and error-correction, and willingness to take risks and make mistakes. Cultural differences also affect the way learners relate to each other and to the teacher. Above all, instructors need to know how to create a supportive, positive, and cooperative learning environment in which students of different cultural backgrounds can learn to understand, value, and respect

Table 2.

Persons Speaking a Language Other Than English at Home, by Language: 1990

Language	Number (x 1,000)
Total Number	230,446
Speak Only English	198,601
Spanish	17,339
French	1,702
German	1,547
Italian	1,309
Chinese	1,249
Tagalog	843
Polish	723
Korean	626
Vietnamese	507
Portuguese	430
Japanese	428
Greek	388
Arabic	355
Hindi (Urdu)	331
Russian	242
Yiddish	213
Thai (Laotian)	206
Persian	202
French Creole	188
Armenian	150
Navaho	149
Hungarian	148
Hebrew	144
Dutch	143
Mon-Khmer (Cambodian)	127
Gujarathi	102

U.S. Bureau of the Census 1994

one another while working together in paired or group activities and communicating in the target language.

Many instructors may wonder if it is possible to bring about effective cooperation and communication among students of widely diverse backgrounds. There is concern that diversity might actually be a barrier to such interaction. Colleagues who teach in parts of the country with large multilingual, multicultural populations and who have experience in dealing with these issues understand the complexities, challenges, and opportunities that are inherent in diversity.

The pages that follow describe a project undertaken by the faculty of one foreign language department at a four-year commuter college that is part of the City University of New York. The purpose of the project was to explore the cultural and linguistic diversity on the campus and to develop strategies for integrating that diversity into the language curriculum to promote better intercultural awareness, understanding, and communication.

Exploring the Diversity of the Foreign Language Class

The 15,000 undergraduate students of Queens College reflect the rich cultural and linguistic diversity of New York City. A survey of the student body of the City University of New York (CUNY 1990) indicated that 51 percent of Queens College students spoke a language in addition to English, representing a total of 66 different languages. Of the undergraduate population in 1989, 63 percent were white, non-Hispanic; 10 percent were black, non-Hispanic; 13 percent were Hispanic; and 14 percent were Asian or Pacific Islander. A similar survey conducted five years later (CUNY 1994) reflects the shifting demographic patterns of the local community. By 1994, the white and black undergraduate populations of Queens College had decreased to 60.7 percent and 9.4 percent, respectively, while the Hispanic and Asian or Pacific Islander populations had increased to 13.8 percent and 16 percent, respectively (see Table 3).

Table 3.

Undergraduate Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity

Year	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/Pacific Islander
1989	63.0	10.0	13.0	14.0
1994	60.7	9.4	13.8	16.0

Of the more than 30 countries "of primary identity" cited by students in 1989, those with the largest representation were the following: Italy, 12 percent; Ireland, 10.6 percent; Germany, 7.5 percent; Poland, 7.3 percent; Russia, 5.6 percent; Greece, 4.7 percent; Haiti, 3.9 percent; Israel, 3.9 percent; and Colombia, 3.1 percent. Twenty-eight percent of students were born outside the U.S. mainland or in Puerto Rico and approximately half of those born on the mainland had at least one parent who was born elsewhere.

To encourage reflection, debate, and action on diversity-related issues, the Ford Foundation established an urban diversity initiative program for commuter colleges. In 1991, Queens College received one of these diversity initiative grants. Faculty were invited to act as catalysts for promoting diversity and stimulating colleagues to confront issues of diversity within their departments. Members of the Department of Romance Languages took up this challenge and designed a one-year faculty development project with two main objectives. The first was to explore the dimensions of diversity in the foreign language class. The second objective was to develop creative teaching strategies that incorporate diversity and improve intercultural communication and understanding.

The project was launched in the spring of 1992 when 21 instructors of French, Italian, and Spanish attended the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages in New York City. The group consisted of full-time junior and senior faculty, part-time adjunct instructors, and graduate teaching assistants. The three-day conference on the theme "Languages for a Multicultural World in Transition" provided ideas on teaching culture and promoting intercultural communication in an increasingly diverse and rapidly changing society.[2]

The following semester, the department organized a series of seminars and workshops on the theme "Teaching Foreign Languages in a Multicultural Setting."[3] A panel discussion focused on the history of multicultural education in the United States, the evolution of the concept of multiculturalism, and current initiatives in dealing with multicultural issues on campus. A second panel explored the dimensions of diversity in the foreign language class with particular attention to the faculty, the languages and cultures taught, and the student body.

A survey of the foreign language faculty revealed a rich mosaic of U.S.- and foreign-born, native and non-native speakers of French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. Most spoke two or three languages in addition to English. A discussion of the implications of our own diversity led to reflection on how we relate to one another, to our students, and to our roles as

culture bearers in our classrooms. While much of the literature on this subject addresses the role of the instructor as consultant about the target culture and mediator between the target culture and U.S. culture (Cottenet-Hage, Joseph, and Verdaguer 1992; Lafayette 1988), we realized how much more complex these issues were in our particular context. French instructors, for example, came from France, Russia, Poland, Canada, Algeria, and the United States. Members of the Spanish faculty came from Puerto Rico, Cuba, Argentina, and Colombia, as well as from Spain and the United States mainland. They each brought a different perspective of the target culture and of U.S. culture to their teaching.

A survey of the students enrolled in our language classes revealed the dramatic demographic changes that had occurred over the previous decade. Senior colleagues remembered when the majority of students were second- and third-generation New Yorkers of European background whose native language was English. Now, many more students were recent immigrants or children of immigrants from countries all over the world speaking many native languages other than English. In one typical first-semester French class, 11 out of 21 students were native speakers of languages other than English. There were six Spanish speakers and one native speaker each of Greek, Arabic, Russian, Polish, and Cantonese. In an elementary Italian class, 14 out of 20 students were native speakers of Spanish, Greek, Polish, Korean, Romanian, or Russian.

Since so many of the students in our French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese classes had already mastered one or more foreign languages, including English, they brought varied perspectives to the language-learning process. We reflected on the implications of their linguistic sophistication and considered how we could exploit this resource in our teaching. Although we agreed with García (1992) that "our task as language educators encompasses not only knowing the language and culture of the people whose language we teach, but also the language and culture of the people whom we teach" (p. 3), we realized that our task went beyond a single language and culture to encompass many languages and cultures among our students. Just as we, the faculty, represented different dimensions of many target cultures, our students exemplified the multilingual and multicultural nature of U.S. society.

We also found a significant number of bilingual and bicultural students in our classes. These are students who may have been born in the United States or have come here at an early age, but who were raised in environments where the language and culture of their country of origin was dominant. We considered the important distinction that needs to be

made between elective and circumstantial bilinguals. Valdés (1992, p. 38) defines elective bilinguals as those individuals who choose to become bilingual but who spend the greater part of their time in a society in which their first language is the majority or societal language. Circumstantial bilinguals are individuals who, because of their circumstances, find that they must learn another language in order to survive. These individuals find themselves in a context in which their ethnic language is not the majority, prestige, or national language.

The situation in Spanish is particularly complex. The majority of students in our beginning-level courses are native speakers of English or languages other than Spanish. On the other hand, many intermediate-level students and most advanced-level students are circumstantial bilinguals who speak Spanish at home and have learned English as a second language. Their abilities and needs vary widely depending on how much formal schooling they have had in their native countries, how long ago, and in what circumstances they continue to speak Spanish.

The faculty discussions gave substance and direction to the workshops that followed. Our objectives were to integrate diversity into the foreign language curriculum and to create a classroom environment that would encourage understanding, communication, and cooperation among students of different cultures. The remainder of this chapter describes some of the strategies and activities that were developed with these objectives in mind. They can be adapted to all languages and levels and are compatible with any curriculum or textbook. One important feature, especially in departments that rely heavily on adjunct instructors and teaching assistants, is that they are easy to implement.

Integrating Diversity into the Curriculum

There are many ways to integrate linguistic and cultural diversity into the foreign language class without making any major changes in familiar routines or curriculum. The most important change is in the instructor's increased awareness of and approach to diversity. Cottenet-Hage, Joseph, and Verdaguer (1992) encourage the instructor to "think culturally" and to transform the language classroom into a cultural laboratory. This begins with a critical awareness of one's own cultural identity and an understanding that language and culture are interconnected.

Once the instructor learns to think and plan from a cultural perspective, many ideas for adapting the standard curriculum come to mind.

When introducing new vocabulary, for example, one can tap the rich variety of languages that are spoken by students in the class to find cognates and to make associations and comparisons. Students draw on their own language resources and apply their prior knowledge to the new language-learning experience. This can lead to a better understanding of the origins of language and how languages work. Those who have learned English as a second language, or any other foreign language, quickly learn to transfer and adapt their language-learning strategies to this new language.

Topics that are typically found in any elementary textbook can become the medium for an exploration of cultural identity and diversity and lead to an expanded knowledge of how societies are structured and how these shape attitudes and values. A lesson on the family can stimulate a discussion about the family structures and relationships of the different cultural groups represented in the class. A lesson on food and meals can lead to a comparison of different food preferences and meal-taking habits. Even a simple lesson on the use of articles and prepositions with place names can become a global adventure when students are asked where they were born, where their parents were born, or where they used to live.

A discussion of descriptive adjectives is transformed into an examination of cultural stereotypes when students are asked to describe the typical North American man or woman, the typical French man or woman, or a typical person from any other country with which they may be familiar. Questions for composition and conversation might ask students to relate their own experiences in adapting to a new culture, thus leading to stimulating discussions about culture shock, cultural misunderstandings, defining attitudes and values, and exploring cultural identities and differences.

While instructors are encouraged to use the target language as much as possible, this decision should be based on students' linguistic proficiency, their cultural sophistication, and the complexity of the issue under discussion. At the elementary level, students can exchange information about themselves, their native countries, their daily habits, and their families in the target language. If the curriculum includes discussions of culture that require more complex language structures such as making comparisons, expressing opinions, or advancing hypotheses, these are best conducted in English at the elementary level. As students reach more advanced levels of linguistic proficiency, they can participate in more sophisticated discussions in the target language.

It is important to exercise caution and discretion in discussions of cultural identity and diversity. Students of different cultural backgrounds who

lack a common ground of shared experiences may be reluctant to volunteer information about their personal lives in public with strangers. They may also hesitate to take risks and experiment with the target language. It is the instructor's responsibility, therefore, to create a friendly, relaxed, and supportive environment where students from different educational, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds can get to know one another and feel free to communicate both in English and in the target language.

Creating a Forum for Cultural Interaction

Several models for improving intercultural communication between U.S. students and foreigners have been developed. Sacco (1987) describes a communications course, conducted in English, that was designed to increase the cultural knowledge and sensitivity of American students at a largely monolingual, monocultural midwestern university. An original feature of the course is the cross-cultural case study based on the Gudykunst and Kim (1984) model of intercultural communication. U.S. and international students are brought together to get to know each other and to learn as much as possible about each other's cultures. The A.M.I.G.O. project (Stohl 1985) is another program designed to improve intercultural communication skills by pairing U.S. students with foreigners living in the community. Each partner benefits from the opportunity to meet, interact, and socialize with people from other cultures.

At Queens College, opportunities for intercultural communication are everywhere. Students need only look to the person sitting next to them to find someone from another country or culture. Communication, however, does not happen automatically, especially through the medium of a language that is foreign to both partners. Activities must be carefully planned and orchestrated if they are to achieve the dual objectives of communication and cooperation in the target language. The instructor must find creative ways to engage student interest and create a fertile environment for the exchange of information, ideas, and opinions.

The following activities encourage students to get to know each other while they use the target language to perform specific tasks (conducting a survey, analyzing photographs, writing and performing skits). Working in pairs and in small groups helps create a supportive, non-threatening environment in which students feel more comfortable about taking risks with the language. As students get to know each other, they are more willing to share information about themselves and their families, to express their

opinions and feelings, and to learn about others in the class. This whole process gradually helps to break down cultural and linguistic barriers, destroy stereotypes, and build lasting friendships.

The Class Profile Survey. This activity exploits diversity while facilitating communication and cooperation. It is based on the fact that each class has its own distinct profile of linguistic and cultural diversity and that students are naturally curious to find out about each other. Through paired interviews in the target language, students ask questions and share information about themselves and their families. Later, in small groups, they evaluate information, make comparisons, and express their feelings and opinions. Several language skills (grammar, vocabulary, conversation, writing, and reading) are involved.

The Class Profile Survey is conducted over four days in segments of 10–15 minutes. We begin with a brainstorming session during which the class draws up a list of questions that they would like to ask each other. Even as early as the first semester, students can formulate questions in the target language about country of origin, languages spoken, family members, work, and after-school activities. The instructor then prepares a one-page survey containing the questions. On the second day, working in pairs, students interview each other and fill out the survey for their partners. The instructor collects the surveys and tallies the results. On the third day, the class is divided into groups of four or five. Each group receives data for one section of the questionnaire and writes a paragraph summarizing the results for that section. One group of students in a first-semester Italian class wrote the following paragraph in Italian:

> There are twenty students in our Italian class: seven men and thirteen women. Sixteen students live in Queens, two in Brooklyn, and two on Long Island. They are of many different nationalities. Nine students were born in the United States and two were born in Poland. The others were born in the following countries: Korea, Romania, Bolivia, Russia, Colombia, Nicaragua, Peru, Guam, and Iceland. Three students have been living in the United States for less than two years. Five students have been living in the United States for between four and ten years. They speak many languages. These languages are: English, Spanish, Greek, Polish, Korean, Romanian, Russian, and Italian.

The instructor collects all of the summaries and combines them into a one-page narrative. This "class profile" is then distributed for students to read and discuss. At the beginning level, discussion in the target language can focus on exchanging factual information and developing awareness of

linguistic and cultural diversity in the class. Students discover how many different languages and countries are represented in the class. Many are interested to learn that they are not the only newcomers to this country and that they share similar experiences with others in the class.

The Family Album. Another effective way to celebrate and give voice to diversity was inspired by Scanlan's technique for analyzing photographs of the target culture (1980). The main objective is to train students to make tentative hypotheses about a cultural context using visual clues provided in a photograph and applying prior knowledge of the target culture. Students discover how difficult it is to reconstruct the cultural context and learn the importance of collecting as much information as possible before drawing any conclusions or making any hasty generalizations. They also learn not to judge by appearances alone but to ask questions and seek out as much information as possible.

The instructor first distributes a series of photographs depicting scenes of everyday family life in the target culture. Working in small groups with one photo per group, students describe what they see in the photo in the target language. Slides of all photos are then shown to the whole class as each group reads their description. After this literal or descriptive phase, the class proceeds to an interpretive phase in which, with the instructor's guidance, they try to reconstruct the context of each photo (time, place, circumstances, relationships). They then consider how much information was available in the photos and how much had to be supplied by the instructor to fully understand the scenes. By the intermediate level, this discussion could be conducted in the target language.

The third phase deals with making responsible generalizations about family life in the target culture. Students first consider how much information is contained in an individual photo and how this is enhanced by viewing the other photos in the series. They then think about the information that the instructor-informer provides and how this adds to their understanding of the scenes and characters depicted. Finally, they consider what other sources of information could be tapped to complete the cultural context and begin to make tentative generalizations.

We can introduce another dimension of intercultural awareness and communication by repeating this process with family photographs taken in the United States and in other countries familiar to the students. Students can also bring in photos of their own families that they exchange in pairs or in small groups. By discussing what cultural information is visible in the photos (dress, setting, gestures, facial expressions) and what

information they must provide (family relationships, customs, holidays, meals) for classmates to fully understand what they see, students develop insights into their own and their classmates' cultural identities and into the complex process of learning about another culture.

Interactive Team Projects. This activity is designed to promote cooperation and communication among students of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Many instructors use it early in the first semester because it helps students get to know one another and begin to feel more comfortable with each other and with the instructor. It integrates several language skills (writing, speaking, listening, and pronunciation), creates a cooperative language learning environment, and provides opportunities for students to correct themselves and each other.

These interactive team projects are conducted in five 10–15 minute sessions over a two-week period. Students work in groups of three or four to plan, write, rehearse, and perform short scenes on various topics assigned by the instructor. Topics vary depending on students' interests and abilities and on instructional objectives. Some topics that can be used successfully as early as the first semester are: ordering dinner in a restaurant, making vacation plans at a travel agency, foreign tourists visiting New York, U.S. tourists traveling abroad.

On the first day, students begin to work on plot outlines and role distributions while the instructor circulates among the groups to provide assistance and make suggestions. The next two sessions are devoted to script-writing, editing, and rehearsing. A day or two between each session gives students time to work on their scripts and rehearse at home. Skits are never more than two or three minutes long, so students can learn their parts by heart and focus on pronunciation, intonation, and gestures.

By the fourth day, groups are ready to act out their skits before the class while the instructor videotapes them. As each group performs, the rest of the class listens, watches, and prepares to answer three questions on an audience response sheet: Where does the scene take place? Who are the characters? What are they doing? The answers to these questions provide feedback to the students and the instructor about comprehension of the content and serve as a summary of the activity. The videotape is played back on the fifth day to allow students to evaluate their own and their classmates' performances. Although optional, the videocamera is recommended because it provides valuable feedback for error correction, especially pronunciation, and gives the instructor a tangible document for evaluating speaking skills.

Table 4.

Summary of Integrative Activities

Type of activity	Number of sessions	Time per session	Format	Cultural issues addressed	Linguistic skills and functions	Support materials
Class Profile Survey	4	10–15 minutes	Whole class: * brainstorming * discussion Paired interviews Small groups	Information Awareness Understanding Communication	Asking/Answering questions Making comparisons Vocabulary: * languages * countries * leisure activities * family members Writing paragraphs	
Family Album	3	10–15 minutes	Whole class discussions Pair work Small groups	Information Observation Analysis Making/Testing hypotheses	Asking/Answering questions Describing Narrating Vocabulary: * family members * leisure activities * food * clothing	Photos and slides of target culture
Interactive Team Projects	5	10–15 minutes	Groups of 3–4	Awareness Understanding Communication Cooperation	Writing Speaking Pronunciation Listening Self/Peer correction	Video camera and VCR (optional)

This entire project may take up to two weeks depending on how many times a week the class meets and how frequently time is set aside for the project. While everyone's attention is focused on the final "production," the real social and cultural benefits are in the process. As they work together toward a common goal, students learn to cooperate and communicate with one another. They share ideas, feelings, and opinions and learn mutual trust and respect. Indirectly and informally, whether in English or in the target language, students of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds learn to interact effectively with one another. The activities of the project are summarized in Table 4.

Conclusion

As the cultural and linguistic diversity of our student body continues to increase, foreign language instructors are faced with the challenge and responsibility of preparing students to work together and communicate effectively in the classroom and the outside world. We have seen how the faculty of one foreign language department succeeded in giving voice to and celebrating diversity by integrating it throughout their foreign language curriculum. They discovered that diversity, far from being a barrier to effective interaction, is a valuable, built-in resource that can enrich the language learning experience and transform the foreign language class into a forum for intercultural awareness, understanding, and communication.

Notes

1. See García (1992) for a thorough discussion of multilingualism in the United States.
2. See Byrnes (1992) for a collection of reports related to the Conference theme.
3. An Instructor's Reference Manual (Sawicki 1992) includes summaries of the seminars and workshops, samples of the cultural materials collected, and suggestions for teaching culture and intercultural understanding in the foreign language class. It also includes an annotated bibliography of resources on multicultural education in the United States, cultures of the French-speaking, Italian-speaking, and Spanish-speaking communities, cultural diversity in Europe, classroom strategies for teaching language and culture, and developing cross-cultural understanding. This 43-page manual is available as an ERIC document on microfiche.

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A Cognitive Model for the Teaching of the Literary Elements in the Second-Year Language Class

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Bridging the gap between first- and second-year language courses and the Introduction to Literature class is one of the prime concerns of the language coordinator of the 1990s. To the dismay of coordinators, professors of introductory literature classes often discover that students are unable to discuss the works that they are assigned to read. Students, on the other hand, complain that even with good grades in their preceding language courses, they must make a quantum leap into the literature class. The purposes of this paper are: (1) to demonstrate the need to introduce literary elements in the intermediate-level language course; and (2) to provide a model for introducing them.

Background

A comparison of the typical language course and the Introduction to Literature course may shed some light on the basis for the often-reported difficulties. In the communication-driven elementary and intermediate language sequence, there is a high degree of emphasis on the development of the listening and speaking skills and on students' active involvement in class activities. Class format varies between whole-class, small-group, and pair work. Students are carefully provided with the vocabulary and structures they need to communicate their ideas. Activities consist of information gap questions, role-plays, interviews, and discussions. These

activities are provided with a real-life context, and students are encouraged to speak and, at times, to write about what affects their lives and the lives of their families and friends. The affective filter is generally low and students' efforts to communicate are generously rewarded. Expectations are fairly reasonable because most of the students do not plan to become language majors.

In our experience, the Introduction to Literature course has changed little in the past 40 years. Students are assigned readings to be completed outside of class. Classes are teacher-centered with the instructor lecturing on important background information and then asking questions about textual content and literary elements. Questions are generally answered by a select few; occasionally a discussion may take place between one of the better students and the instructor. Most students remain silent and take notes on the comments made by both the instructor and their peers. The affective filter is high for a variety of reasons: many of the students plan to be major or minors, so the number of able students in a class is high; grades in one's major or minor carry greater weight in students' minds; the intellectual content of class discussions may be complex; and the demands of discourse are high. The fear of appearing foolish intellectually and/or linguistically keeps many students from participating in class discussions.

One of the factors contributing to the so-called gap between the intermediate language level and upper-division literature courses is the variety of students in university language and literature programs today. As early as 1972, Disick described the intermediate level as "a perplexing disarray of aptitudes, interests, and competences" (p. 417). Harlow and Muyskens (1994) report that after 20 years, the description is still valid. They point to the fact that the population of intermediate classes ranges from students who have placed into this level directly from high school to others who have begun their study of the language in the university. They add that the problem is intensified by the gap between coverage and performance. Most of the grammar has been covered in earlier courses but students have still not reached the level at which they can use many structures comfortably. Magnan (1993) also discusses the diversity of the second-year students in terms of competence, aptitude, interests, and motivation. She attributes the diversity to uneven high school preparation, weak placement procedures, language loss between years of study, or individual differences in aptitude for language learning.

This diversity can be considered a blessing as well as a special challenge for instructors. On the positive side, discussions are enhanced by the

wisdom to be gained from students whose age, economic or social status, sexual preference, or handicaps have affected their life experiences. On the other hand, in addition to the challenges presented by the broad range of students' linguistic abilities and learning capacities, is the range of knowledge and experience in engaging in literary analysis. While the recent high school graduate may have some familiarity with such terms as "theme" and "plot" from having discussed them in English classes, the nontraditional student who has delayed or postponed studies for an extended period may not have encountered these concepts for many years. Students who do claim to have a knowledge of literary terms are often unsure when asked to explain how they decided that a certain short story reflects a particular theme. They may also be at a loss when it comes to supporting ideas and opinions.

Foreign language instructors may assume that students have a good working knowledge of theme, plot, and structure from their previous courses in literature. This, in fact, is often an erroneous assumption. Robinson (1996) notes that the general preparation of students to analyze literature, even in their native language, seems to be on the decline. Schofer (1990) explains that the teaching of literature is made more difficult by the fact that in today's society, students are greatly influenced by television, music, and the human voice. One could also add video and computer games as other activities that take students away from the reading of literature.

Although teachers of literature tend to agree that the present-day student is poorly prepared to analyze literature, others point to their linguistic difficulties as a possible barrier to participating in the activities of the literature class. Kramsch (1985) cautions that approaches to literature that stress the response of the reader demand more oral proficiency on the part of the student. Lide (1990) also expresses concern that expectations for the student in terms of literary analysis are exceedingly high when the student must struggle just to extract the literal meaning from the text. He even goes so far as to advocate reading the work in translation. James (1989) points to the fact that students experience difficulties when teachers "attempt to specialize in literary criticism while failing to teach linguistic skills" (p. 87). Rice (1991) adds that literature professors must recognize that modern critical theory demands increased student proficiency in order to allow for presentation of their response to the text. Bernhardt (1995) acknowledges the linguistic deficiencies of students and recommends that teachers provide instruction not only in literature but also in

language. According to Robinson (1996) researchers are currently investigating the introduction of language instruction into literature classes. She adds that "if both literature and language professors appreciated the interconnectedness of their goals, the proficiency could be spread more evenly and thoroughly throughout the foreign language program." (p. 5)

Students are also aware of their deficiencies. Martin and Laurie (1993) surveyed French students to determine why they consistently rated the study of literature below the linguistic component of a foreign language course and found that, in the students' perception, "they lacked the skills of literary analysis required of them, and that this combined with their limited language skills and lack of cultural background made literature study inappropriate" (p. 201). Hirvela and Boyle (1988) previously reported similar findings. In addition to the concern over lack of preparation, student interest in the study of literary texts may not be as high as in the past. Harlow and Muyskens (1994) surveyed 1,373 students from 12 universities about their goals in language study. Both students and their instructors ranked the reading of literature eleventh out of 14 possible goals. For students, the top three goals in ranking were speaking, listening, and gaining self-confidence in using the language.

To address these problems, we believe that language professors must provide for the introduction of literary analysis skills at early levels of language study. Some, however, may not have been trained to teach literary elements. The instructor's own course in foreign language teaching methodology may have included the teaching of reading but emphasized skimming, scanning, and contextual guessing. Santoni (1972), Muyskens (1983), and Rivers (1983) all point to the need for training college instructors in the teaching of literature. Lalande (1990) advocates the creation of a second-tier methods course to address the topic of teaching literature, but at present few universities offer such a course.

In her 1990 survey, Magnan found that 46 percent of the responding coordinators felt that their graduate instructor development program would not adequately prepare new instructors to teach on the second level and that 38 percent thought that their programs were at least partially inadequate. Magnan (1993) continues to present a strong case for the establishment of training for second-year courses when she points out the differences in training needs for first- and second-level courses. Whereas first-year courses generally focus on speaking, listening, and grammar using the students' personal lives and travel as topics for oral practice, many second-year courses increase efforts to develop reading and writing

skills and to present cultural and literary information. She states that "not only do second-year instructors need sophisticated language skills and a conceptual knowledge of grammar but they also need . . . cultural and literary awareness" (p. 40). Nevertheless, an instructor who has these skills may still lack confidence in applying them in the classroom and/or the ability to do so at a level appropriate to the diverse student body. Other differences between the two levels can be found in the more sophisticated classroom activities (extended dialogues and discussions), types of homework and testing, and differences in the discourse that the students are expected to understand and produce. Instructors of the second level must understand a greater variety of discourse, cognitive processing strategies, and the broad cultural knowledge important in working with authentic texts. Those who teach elementary courses, usually teaching assistants, generally receive syllabi, lesson plans, tests, and extensive support from their supervisors. In the second year they tend to be more independent.

Because of uncertainty on the part of the students and hesitancy on the part of the instructor to enter into unfamiliar territory, the teaching of the foreign language literature often becomes the teaching of LITERATURE, a hallowed ground where concepts are discussed in a nebulous fashion if they are discussed by students at all. Moreover, instructors, who must translate literary terms into the target language and explain them in a way that all students will understand, may find that they are conducting a lecture in English. Even if the instructor continues in the target language, the communicative focus of the class is often discarded as instructors address their remarks to a handful of students who understand while the rest of the class scribble frantically to capture something they can use on an exam or in an essay. In addition, when these classes are taught by literature faculty with little or no experience in the language class, expectations of student performance may be too high. According to Schulz (1981), after three to four semesters of spoonfeeding, "instructors expect a transition from the stage of painful word-by-word decoding of contrived written dialogs or narrations dealing with simple everyday events to comprehension of relatively lengthy literary texts containing highly abstract vocabulary, complex syntactical patterns, and sophisticated style and content which even an educated native speaker often cannot read without effort" (p. 43). Another potential problem, according to Schulz, is that "many instructors who are thoroughly familiar with a literary work tend to underestimate the linguistic difficulty the text in question might present to students" (p. 45).

In her 1983 review of literature on the teaching of second language literature, Muyskens laments the fact that literature teachers are not trained in the methodology of the teaching of literature either by their own departments or by departments of foreign language education. She mentions that Lohnes (1972) has even advocated the creation of teacher's manuals for literary works. According to Robinson (1996), the more recent literature on this topic "reflects the profession's increasingly integrated linguistic and literary goals" (p. 9). She cites an increased need for instituting pedagogical methodology for all levels and combining them with theories of literary analysis. James (1989) warns that the existence of inadequately prepared teachers will continue until the language teachers and literary scholars cease to regard each other as separate groups. Bretz (1990) recommends graduate level courses for foreign language teachers that include topics such as the discussion of literary theory and how it influences reading and the teaching of literature, text selection, the preparation and implementation of materials, and pre- and post-reading activities.

Bridging the Gap: Literature at the Intermediate Level

To begin to address this problem, literary terms need to be introduced and taught directly in second-year language courses so that students can use them as tools to better understand the literary texts that they are reading and to be able to meet with greater success in upper-level courses. Unfortunately, the question of how to teach literary terms is not addressed in methodology texts and is seldom covered in a literary text's notes to the instructor. We propose an umbrella model for the teaching of literary terms based on certain principles of cognitive psychology.

Even though there are different representations of so-called "networks," cognitive psychologists believe that knowledge is organized and represented in memory by means of interconnected propositions or statements that can be judged true or false. When the individual recalls information, he or she recalls it as words and images that are a translation of the propositional networks into familiar verbal and pictorial codes. According to Anderson (1980), the networks are not part of an individual's conscious memory.

One of the early proponents of applying the principles of cognitive psychology to education was Ausubel (1968). He defined the concept of "cognitive structure" as the quantity, clarity, and organization of the

learner's present knowledge in a particular subject area. The knowledge, consisting of facts, concepts, and raw data, is arranged in a hierarchical manner. New information can be related to the existing structure but requires the rearrangement of the system. According to Ausubel, meaningful material can be assimilated if it is related to what the learner already possesses in the cognitive structure. The challenge for the instructor is to find "anchoring" ideas or links that connect the new material to the old. Craik and Lockhard (1972) add that the more links there are between new and previously learned knowledge, the greater the depth of processing and the stronger the memory link.

Ausubel also stresses the importance of advance organizers or techniques to activate relevant preexisting or background knowledge. Advance organizers may be likened to general ideas or *umbrellas* whose spokes allow for new material to be attached. There are several advantages to their use: (1) they draw upon relevant anchoring concepts already in the student's cognitive structure and allow for the new material to be subsumed; (2) they allow the subsumed new material to serve as an anchor for future knowledge; and (3) they enhance meaningfulness and diminish the student's need to learn terms through rote memory. Storme and Siskin (1989) stress the essential role of background knowledge in reading comprehension, specifically linguistic knowledge such as lexical meaning, word derivation, syntactic rules, and verb tenses as well as the reader's knowledge of the world.

Also in the late 1960s and early 1970s, research related to the roles that readers play in the comprehension process gained prominence in light of schema theory. This theory, as Rumelhart (1980) explains, proposes that "all knowledge is packaged into units," or schemata, and "embedded in these packages of knowledge is, in addition to the knowledge itself, information about how this knowledge is to be used. A schema, then, is a data structure for representing the generic concepts stored in memory" (p. 34). This personal knowledge and experience must be activated to maximize comprehension. According to Lee and VanPatten (1995), comprehension is "the process of relating new or incoming information to information already stored in memory" (p. 191).

Adhering to the importance of activating appropriate schemata, the most general step, or roof in the umbrella model for teaching literary elements is the use of a children's tale to provide the context of a familiar story with which to work. The primary advantage of the children's story is a simple one: it is familiar to most students. Kramsch (1985) also

advocates the use of this type of text in developing appropriate schemata since "fairy-tales, unlike modern short stories, cast foreign languages readers into a role that is known to them despite some cultural differences" (p. 359). Furthermore, children's stories have a discernible beginning, middle, and end with a single conflict that, once presented, grows to a climax and is resolved. Generally, children's tales have a limited number of characters whose traits are clearly expressed. Finally, the setting of the tale is concrete and described with sufficient detail to facilitate visualization. Thus, the children's tale serves as a perfect model with which to begin to teach literary terms. Two stories that work well are "Cinderella" and "Little Red Riding Hood."

The use of the children's tale is a natural bridge to the second step, or spoke, in the umbrella model, which involves *scaffolding*. Scaffolding, in general, is an instructional process in which the instructor helps students solve a problem that they would be unable to solve on their own (Wood, Bruner, and Ross 1976). To create the scaffolding, the instructor must first analyze the task at hand and decide how to make the work as simple and specific as possible, breaking it into manageable chunks. Next, the critical features of the task should be noted, considering how the task differs from previous tasks and what the student should have learned by the end. Then, the instructor must prepare to model both questions and answers, explaining each step in the process as it is performed. The actual process involves a *think-aloud* format in which the instructor proceeds through a series of questions and answers before reaching a conclusion.

A positive feature of the scaffolding process in the teaching of literary terms is that students recognize it as concrete and based on references in the text rather than on the instructor's ideas and views. The procedure provides guidance for the student who might be able to define a term but be unable to use it in a practical situation. During the think-aloud process, the instructor gradually involves the class in answering the questions and provides feedback. As soon as possible, students should take over the role of asking/answering questions and the instructor should serve only as a guide or coach.

Using this approach, the instructor can enter into a dialogue with students and start them thinking critically about a story with these and similar questions. Again, a children's tale serves as an excellent model for introducing scaffolding. Consider the following:

Structure/Plot. First, try to think of the story as having a beginning, a middle, and an end.

Beginning (or exposition): What information does the author give us? What does the author tell us about where/when the story takes place? What character(s) does the author mention? If there is more than one character mentioned, does the author focus on one more than another? Can you figure out who the main character is? Does the main character have some sort of a problem?

Middle: What is the conflict? Is it taking place within one person? Is it between characters in the story? Is it between the character and society in general? Is it between the character and nature in general? How does the problem continue to develop? What actions or episodes occur? Does the action continue to develop until there is a climax or point of highest interest, anxiety, trauma?

End: How is the climax or high point of the action resolved? What is the effect of the resolution of the problem or conflict on the main character?

Characterization. Who is the main character? How do we learn about this character? From what he or she does? From what he or she says? From the author or narrator? From the context of the story? Is the character like you or someone you know? Does he or she seem real? Does he or she seem like a caricature? Does he or she change or seem to represent a symbol more than a person?

Setting. Where and when does the story take place? Is this a real place or point in time that you could pinpoint in history? Is the setting neutral, i.e., could it take place anywhere, anytime? What relevance do the place and time have for the story? Would the plot and characters change if the setting were different? Does the setting produce a special mood or atmosphere? What is it? Does it produce in you some sort of emotion or spiritual feeling?

Point of view. Is the story told in the first person or the third person? Does the person change or does it continue throughout? If it is told in the first person, is the speaker the protagonist or another character? If the third person is used, is the author speaking? Does the author seem to know everything about the characters and events (is he or she omniscient) or just seem to know in a limited way?

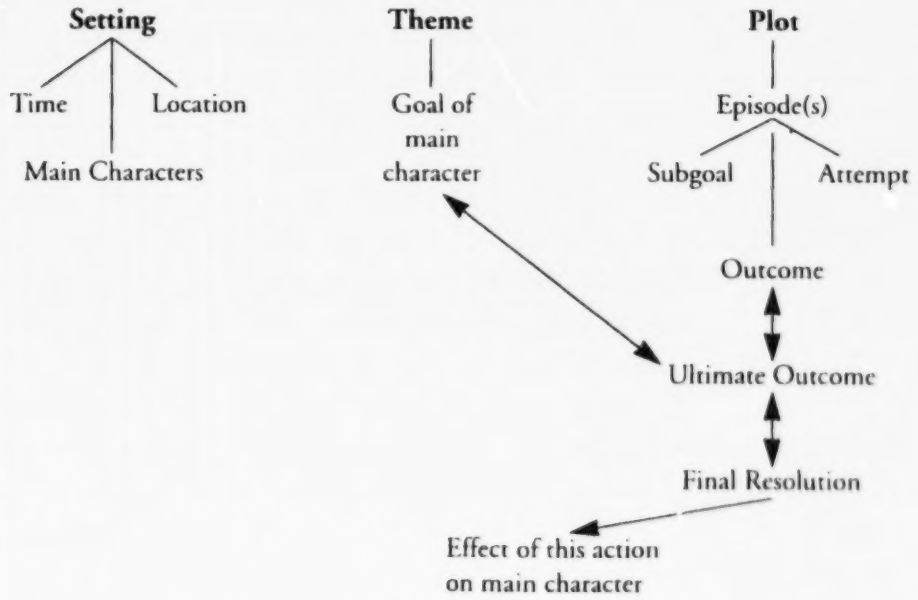
Theme. In a sentence, can you say what the story is about? Can you condense it even more? To a word or two? How do all the parts of the story (structure, characterization, setting, point of view) relate to this central idea? How does it affect the action, what the characters say and do, and who is telling the story? What role does the setting play on the central idea or theme?

A third spoke in the umbrella model is the concept of story grammar, a set of rules that classify the elements of a story and explain the relationship between the parts. Although Guthrie (1977) created his rules to enhance the comprehension of a story by demonstrating the elements that most stories share, his diagram (see Figure 1 for a simplified version) can also be used to illustrate relationships between literary terms and thus provide students with a problem-solving schema. According to Guthrie:

> The first rule simply defines a story as consisting of a setting, theme, plot, and a resolution, which usually occur in that sequence. The second rule is that the setting consists of characters and usually the time of the story. The third rule is that the theme of a story consists of the main goal of the main character. . . . The plot of a story consists of a series of episodes, which are designed to help the main character to reach his goal. Each episode consists of a subgoal, an attempt to reach the goal, and a resolution of the attempt. . . . After several episodes, an outcome occurs which matches the goal of the main character, ushering in a final resolution. (p. 575)

Figure 1.

Story Grammar



Adapted from Guthrie (1977), p. 574

Guthrie's diagram has been amended to provide students with a concrete illustration of the elements of a story and how they relate to one another. Once again, students are encouraged to view the literary elements as somewhat predictable. Their comprehension of the story itself is also increased by the use of the diagram, which then serves as their own advance organizer for future stories. It is a good idea to use a children's tale such as "Little Red Riding Hood" to model the development of a story grammar. For example, in one version of the story, with regard to setting, the time is neutral; in other words, the story could occur at essentially any time. The location is a rural, wooded area and Little Red Riding Hood, the wolf, the grandmother, the mother, and the woodsman are the characters. The goal of Little Red Riding Hood (LRRH), the main character, is to deliver a basket of food to her grandmother who is sick and in bed. There are various episodes with a subgoal, attempt, and an outcome, which can be schematized using Guthrie's system:

Episode 1:

- Subgoal: prepare basket for grandmother
- Attempt: mother and LRRH work together
- Outcome: basket is ready for delivery

Episode 2:

- Subgoal: wolf wants to eat LRRH
- Attempt: to find out how to "get" her
- Outcome: discovers she is on her way to her grandmother's house

Episode 3:

- Subgoal: wolf needs to arrive before LRRH and change places with the grandmother
- Attempt: wolf arrives in time and frightens the grandmother away
- Outcome: wolf disguises himself as the grandmother and takes her place in bed

Episode 4:

- Subgoal: LRRH delivers basket
- Attempt: LRRH arrives but is surprised by the wolf, pretending to be the grandmother
- Outcome: LRRH is frightened, drops basket, and runs away with the wolf in pursuit

Episode 5:

- Subgoal: woodsman is hunting nearby
- Attempt: woodsman sees wolf chasing LRRH and shoots him
- Outcome: woodsman saves LRRH

Figure 2.

Semantic Map: Characterization

The final outcome is that Little Red Riding Hood and her grandmother are reunited and she is able to deliver the basket, her main goal and the final resolution.

The last spoke in the umbrella model is reserved for students to create their own organizers to be used in storing the literary elements of each story they read. For example, one tool that allows students to organize ideas and knowledge about a literary element is semantic mapping, a type of group or individual brainstorming activity (Pearson and Johnson 1978). In this process, students are encouraged to jot down ideas and associations that may then be further organized and relationships can be explored. Figure 2 illustrates a semantic map for characters from "Little Red Riding Hood."

First, the characters are listed with the main character in the center. Then, students provide descriptors for each one followed by their key actions. Finally, judgments are made regarding each character's "goodness" in the story (+ or -). Reflection on these associations can enhance formation and organization of ideas and concepts and provide opportunities for students to enrich their network of associations, thereby strengthening background knowledge of literary elements and features. Through the use of this technique, class discussions may also be improved due to the concrete nature of the task.

Figure 3.

Chart—Setting

Setting	
time	
place	
effect on main characters	
effect on action	

Charts can also be created for any literary element as a means of organizing information as well as serving as a visual representation for the student to see what is already known and what "pieces" of information need to be added or expanded. This allows the student to focus on a specific information-finding task using what is already known as the point of departure. Figure 3 represents a possible chart for setting.

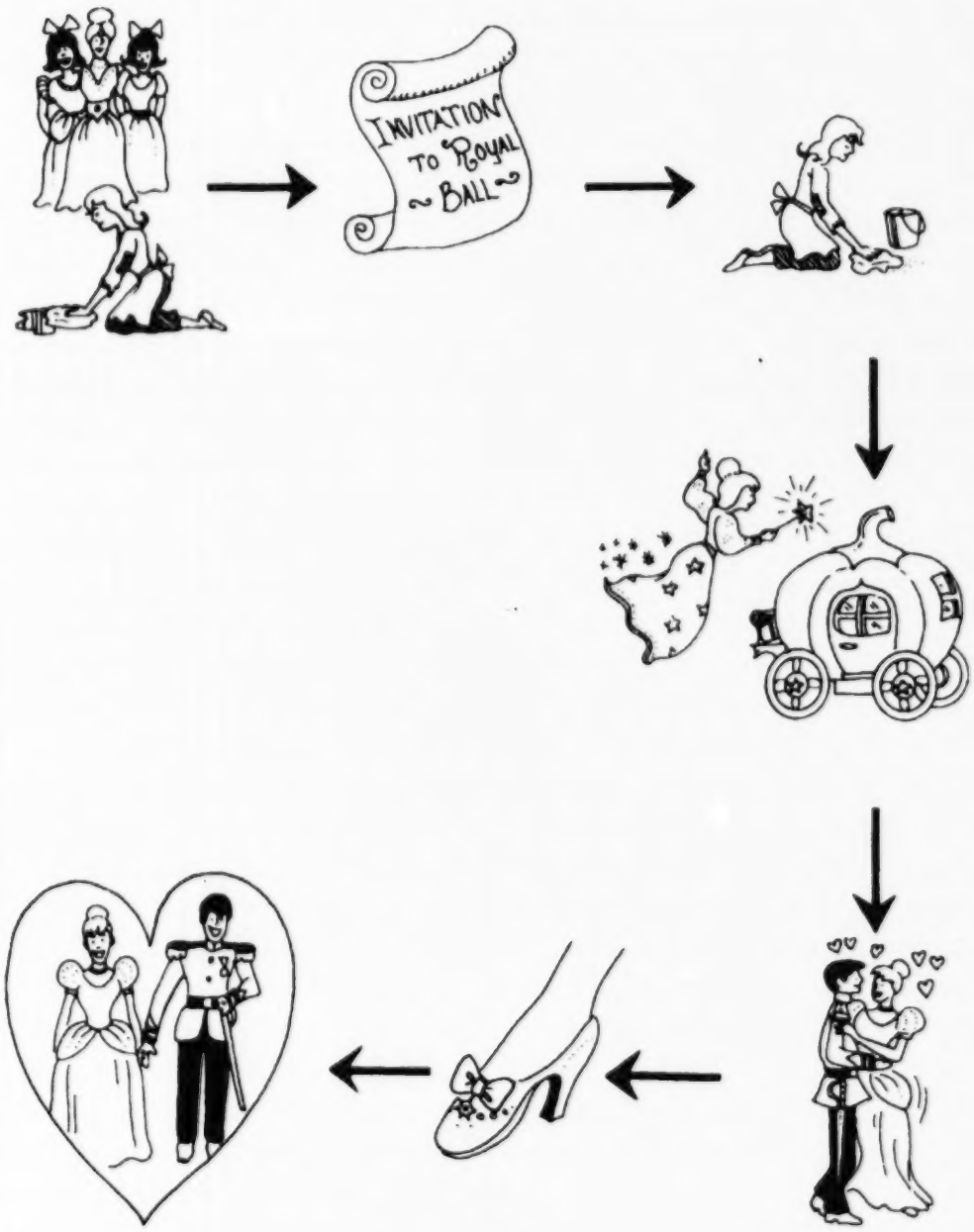
A final activity that students enjoy because it taps both their creative and artistic abilities is content mapping. This activity is designed to provide the opportunity for students to focus on plot, reducing the story to the key actions or events. Individual students, or small groups of students, are asked to determine the 6, 8, 10, etc. (number varies with the complexity of the story) most important actions or events in the story. They are then instructed to design a symbol for each selected action or event. Finally, they are instructed to sketch the symbols in chronological order, using arrows to indicate the flow of the story. Figure 4 is a sample of a content map for "Cinderella."

Conclusion

In each of its steps or spokes, the goal of the umbrella model is to enable second-year language students to become more active participants in the discussion of literary texts. Bridging the gap between language courses and the first course in the foreign language literature is an articulation problem

Figure 4.

Content Map—Cinderella



that must be addressed. Perhaps the initial stages of "bridge building" should be the working together of the language and literature professors in curriculum development and implementation. It is important to make those first encounters with literary analysis more comfortable for our language students, thus encouraging them to continue with upper-level courses. With that in mind, students should be provided with ample reading opportunities from the beginning of the language sequence. Great care must be taken to choose texts that provide students with material that is interesting and relevant to their lives that does not at the same time present an insurmountable linguistic challenge. Tasks based on the reading must also be at the appropriate level of difficulty for students. Students should be introduced to literary elements gradually, with strong consideration given to their cognitive structures, and they should be taught strategies for identifying and discussing those elements as well as provided with numerous guided opportunities for practicing those strategies. At the next level, we should strive to make the literature class as student-centered as possible with careful planning to ensure that students are able to perform in accordance with the expectations of the literature instructor. In short, we must demystify the concept of literature and literary analysis and, in so doing, make it available to all students.

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   (VanPatten 1993)

   Benseler and Cronjaeger (1991) provide the first comprehensive listing on the topic of TA development in foreign languages in their extensive bibliography.

   Although exhortations to the contrary are easily found (Allwright 1981), the textbook, particularly the introductory textbook . . .

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   b. within each group, organize by date (oldest first)
   c. if more than one work with same date, organize by alpha using a, b, c.

Clément, Richard. 1980. Ethnicity, Contact and Communicative Competence in a Second Language. *In Language: Social Psychological Perspectives,* edited by H. Giles, W. P. Robinson, and P. M. Smith, 147–54. Oxford: Pergamon.

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Clément, Richard, Zoltán Dörnyei, and Kimberly A. Noels. Submitted for publication. Motivation, Self-Confidence, and Group Cohesion in the Foreign Language Classroom.

Three-em Dashes (———) for Repeated Names:

Do not use when a coauthor is first added. If the same author is used again, add 3-em.

> Dörnyei, Zoltán. 1990a. Analysis of Motivation Components in Foreign Language Learning. Paper presented at the Ninth World Congress of Applied Linguistics, Greece.
>
> ———. 1990b. Conceptualizing Motivation in Foreign-Language Learning. *Language Learning* 40: 45–78.
>
> Dörnyei, Zoltán, and Sarah Thurrell. 1992. *Conversation and Dialogues in Action.* Hemel Hempstead: Prentice-Hall.
>
> ———. 1994. Teaching Conversational Skills Intensively: Course Content and Rationale. *ELT Journal* 48: 40–49.

Special Notes

1. Personal names beginning with "Mc" or any abbreviated forms of "Mac" should be indexed under "Mac" as though the full form were used.

2. For all state abbreviations, consult Chicago 14.17.

3. There is always a comma separating the names of authors, even if there are only two authors:

   Bernhardt, Elizabeth, and JoAnn Hammadou. 1987.

4. There are no quotation marks around article titles. Use quotes only when there is a title within a title. Books are in italics.

5. Abbreviate page-number spans according to 8.69.

Journal Article: One Author (16.104)

Note that identification of the issue is used *only* when each issue is paginated separately (in contrast to the common practice of consecutive pagination throughout a volume).

> Lange, Dale. 1986. The MLA Commission of Foreign Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics: Comments and Advice. *ADFL Bulletin* 17: 28–31.

Journal Article: Two or More Authors (16.104)

Allen, Wendy, Keith Anderson, and Léon Narváez. 1992. Foreign Languages Across the Curriculum: The Applied Foreign Language Component. *Foreign Language Annals* 25: 11–19.

Organizations, Associations, or Corporations (16.52)

If a publication issued by an organization bears no personal author's name on the title page, it should be listed by the organization, even if the name is repeated in the title or in the series title or as the publisher.

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. 1986. *ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines.* Hastings-on-Hudson, NY: ACTFL.

Edited Book (16.46):

Byrnes, Heidi, and Michael Canale, eds. 1987. *Defining and Developing Proficiency: Guidelines, Implementations, and Concepts.* Lincolnwood, IL.: National Textbook.

Article in an Edited Book

James, Dorothy. 1989. Reshaping the "College-Level" Curriculum: Problems and Possibilities. In *Shaping the Future: Challenges and Opportunities,* edited by Helen S. Lepke, 79–110. Burlington, VT: Northeast Conference.

Book in a Series (16.86)

Magnan, Sally Sieloff, ed. 1991. *Challenges in the 1990s for College Foreign Language Programs.* AAUSC Issues in Language Program Direction. Boston: Heinle & Heinle.

Johnson, Carl L. 1944. *Professor Longfellow at Harvard.* Studies in Literature and Philology, vol. 5. Eugene: University of Oregon Press.

Article in Edited Book that Is Part of a Series

Lee, James F., and Bill VanPatten. 1991. The Question of Language Program Direction Is Academic. In *Challenges in the 1990s for College Foreign Language Programs,* edited by Sally Sieloff Magnan, 113–27. AAUSC Issues in Language Program Direction. Boston: Heinle & Heinle.

An Edition (16.79)

Pedhazur, Elazar J. 1982. *Multiple Regression Behavioral Research: Explanation and Prediction.* 2d ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Publisher's Information Implies a Special Publishing Division

Light, Richard J. 1992. *Harvard Assessment Seminars Second Report.* Cambridge: Harvard University, Graduate School of Education.

Unpublished Thesis (16.132, if published see below)

Tucker, Holly. 1994. Echo in the Text: Rewriting in Charles Sorel's *Berger Extravagant.* Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Published Thesis (16.96 if microform; treat as normal book if otherwise. Note use of italics.)

Jones, Mildred. 1962. *Il Pastor Fido: Sheep and Their Shepherds.* Chicago: University Microforms.

Papers Read at a Meeting (16.133)

Magnan, Sally Sieloff. 1990. Preparing Inexperienced TAs for Second-Year Courses: Are Our Orientations and Methods Courses Adequate? Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Nashville.

Forthcoming or In press (16.57)

Knight, Susan. Forthcoming. Dictionary: The Tool of Last Resort in Foreign Language Reading. A New Perspective. *Modern Language Journal.*

Waldman, Lila. In press. Bilingual Administrative Support Personnel in United States Corporations. *Modern Language Journal* 78.

ERIC Docs

Rubin, Joan, and Irene Thompson. 1992. Material Selection in Strategy Instruction for Russian Listening Comprehension. ERIC Doc. No. ED349796.

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